

# Maclean's

THE  
PASSION OF  
'BETHUNE'

## THE FURY OF OKA

**AFTER THE  
SHOWDOWN,  
INDIAN LEADERS  
PROMISE A  
VIOLENT AUTUMN**

**A Soldier And Mohawk Warrior  
During The Tense Weekend Confrontation**



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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 10, 1990 VOL. 113 NO. 37

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## COVER

### THE FURY OF OKA

*After an increasingly tense standoff, soldiers of the Canadian Forces sealed the final Mohawk barricade at Oka, Que., on Sunday, enclosing the remaining Warriors in an area about the size of a football field. Earlier, Warriors helped remove barriers blocking commuter routes. But the anger generated by the dispute left a legacy of bitterness and an aroused native population.*

— 16

## SPECIAL REPORT

### OF MYTHS AND MEN

*Five years in the making, *Birthplace: The Making of a Hero* premiered in Montreal last week, with its creators continuing their epic feud and publicly denouncing each other. The \$18-million movie about Canadian surgeon Norman Bethune is the most costly and controversial in the country's history.*

— 62

## BUSINESS

### GETTING THE GST OF IT

*Ontario's Goods and Services Tax has begun to bite, even before the new tax law has been passed in the House of Commons. Quebec agreed to meet its sales tax with the GST, which will lessen the impact of its provincial tax. And the federal government wants other provinces to do the same.*

— 40



## LETTERS

### A QUESTIONABLE RECORD

Anyone who is inclined to believe the Ontario Liberals' rhetoric about how good they have been for the environment ("Testing the Newsies," *Canada's Newsweek*, Aug. 27) should note that Philomena Fudge says they have a "disastrous" record on waste reduction and Greenpeace claims that they have "actually made things worse."

David Bell,  
Sarnia, Ont.

The feature about Ontario's forthcoming election should have been titled "Testing the voters." Premier David Peterson betrayed this voter when he ran in an anti-media ticket and then opted for more state subsidies.

Meredith Joe,  
Toronto

### BITING THE FEDERAL HAND

Now that Gilles Duceppe has been successful in the by-election ("The man to beat," *Canada*, Aug. 13), it will be interesting to watch the developments when he does not represent a political party recognized in Parliament, when he has to answer allegiance to the Queen, when he will have as his main objective the supervision of Quebec, while at the same time denying his salary and expenses from the federal office.

J. Gregory Keene,  
Chatham-Kent

### OPTIMISM AT KIRKLAND LAKE

The article on gold in the Aug. 6 issue ("Polish prospects," *Business Week*) is both informative and factual, but the unecessarily negative final salvo aimed at Kirkland Lake takes away from the credibility of the report. Your article attempted to present three very positive projects in a negative manner and failed to report some other developments, such as the relocation of the department of veterans affairs Ontario regional office, Northland Power's \$75-million copper-nickel plant, Ontario Northland Transportation Commission's multi-million-dollar bus terminal and a \$8,000-square-foot office complex. We have had a glorious past and are looking forward to a prosperous future.

Maya Joe Marvian,  
Kirkland Lake, Ont.

### 'MISCHIEF' ABOUT ERASMUS

I do not believe that your article "Getting Away from it all" (*Opportunity Notes*, Aug. 13) should be allowed to produce the mischief it was intended to achieve. When I was inter-



Peterson: environmental challenge

viewed, I made it very clear that our national chief, Georges Erasmus, was fully aware and limited on all developments in Kananaskis and Kananaskis and that he personally approved of our strategies before they were implemented. The article also claims that "native people close" to me have suggested that I "was not pleased about being left alone without a lead-

er." In fact, there are such native sources behind this entire league story, what do they hope to achieve by trying to discredit us? There are a lot of rumors about aboriginal people that your magazine has yet to discover.

Grude Merced,  
Manitoba Regional Chief,  
Assembly of First Nations,  
Ottawa

### THE COST OF PRODUCTION

On the issue of agricultural subsidies ("The elusive solution," *Business*, Aug. 6), I can see where underestimating the world price for farm products is questionable under the Free Trade Agreement. However, any form of payment that is needed to keep the farming industry viable can hardly be considered a "direct export subsidy to farmers." Let us suggest an alternative—the Canadian Wheat Board should purchase my bushels of wheat for a price determined by the cost of production and the federal treasury should compensate the CWB for the deficit.

Sam Nagging,  
Regina

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Canada's Newsweek*, 1000 Lakeshore Blvd., 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**DEATH:** In a helicopter crash that killed four others near Fort Troy, Wis., Tenor Maestri guitarist **Shawn Roy Vaughan**, 35. The two-time Grammy-winner Vaughan had been a mentor to two of Canada's most successful blues guitarists, **Colin James** and **Jack Hensley**. Hensley said that he trusted "helped me immensely—he will be sadly missed by both myself and the world of music." Vaughan had just played in a concert near Milwaukee with **Eric Clapton**, **Robert Cray**, **Boothby Grey** and his brother, **James Vaughan**, all blues guitarists. The long-awaited and September release of Vaughan's latest album, **Jumpin' Ship**, recorded with his brother, has now been postponed until October.



**RECOVERING:** Charles, Prince of Wales, 61, in the Queen's Hospital in Nottingham, England, after lengthy surgery on his right arm, which had failed to heal properly after being broken in a fall from his polo jump. Surgeons grafted a piece of his bone onto the fracture and secured it with a metal plate.

**UNDER INVESTIGATION:** By the way, Edmonton Oilers goalie **Glen Fieber**, 26, after he admitted to the *Edmonton Journal* that he had abused "a substance." As a result, Oilers general manager **Glen Sather** said that Fieber would not accompany the team to Europe this week. Fieber's ex-wife, Connie, told the *Journal* that he had used cocaine since before his 1983 marriage, and Sather confirmed that, last year, Fieber tested positive for the drug.

**DISMISSED:** By Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachev**, the head of the State Prosecution Commission, **Vladimir Nikiforov**, he has alleged failure to take measures to halt a decline in tobacco production. Acute shortages of cigarettes in Moscow and other cities have caused smokers throughout the Soviet Union to stage demonstrations.

**OVERTURNED:** By a U.S. federal Appeals Court, a \$6-million libel judgment that had been awarded to American entertainer **Wayne Newton** after a 1980 pay trial in Las Vegas. Newton had sued for defamation, claiming that an NBC news program in 1980 and 1981 listed him to members of organized crime. The Appeals Court panel ruled unanimously that the NBC reporters did not deliberately or recklessly create a false picture.

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## LETTERS

### SHOWDOWN AT OKA

Who expected to see the Wild West suddenly become the Wild East ("Barbarians at the Gate," Canada, Aug. 13)? Thanks to the efforts of both Quebec and Ottawa, it is now OK to enforce your demands at the end of a gun. So if security works for some, why not for all?

Rev. George Clowet,  
Midwest, Ont.

Is it not amazing what is happening on the Mercer Bridge and at Oka? Some Indians pay very little to the way of taxes, set up their own governments on the reserve and, in so doing, choose not to participate in Canada. They add insult to injury by demanding federal funding for the reserves, and Canadians are further insulted by the interruption of transportation and the disruption of the economy in the areas affected. Perhaps the error should have moved in on July 11, when the standoff began.

Jerry Pryde,  
Burlington, Ont.

I want to thank your magazine for its unprecedented coverage of the Oka confrontation, but also for presenting native people for what they really are—oppressed and neglected. All of a sudden, the opposition parties want to get on the bandwagon to run down the government for not acting sooner to settle native land claims. Where were these politicians hiding for the years that the native people have been crying out for recognition? Is it time we paid up and looked for unity across our nation?

Norbert Lypien,  
Edmonton

I have just one thing to say: All of this mess over a stupid golf course! Give the Indians back their land and stop using the children.

Laura Gullick,  
North York, Ont.

### UNAFFORDABLE HOUSING

Only in Canada would the taxpayers maintain in official residence for a person whose main objective is to move out as quickly as possible ("A house of horrors," Opening Notes, Aug. 6). People in other countries must get a good laugh out of this bit of Canadiana. Now is a good time to get rid of Stornoway—when there is no occupancy and a few months before the next one moves in. There is no history or heritage there, given that George Drew moved in only in 1966. The president is not old enough to preserve, and we cannot afford it. Sell Stornoway now—the last, at least, in worth considering.

Mervin Roberts,  
Whitby, Ont.



Mercer Bridge conflict: security for all?

### OSTEOPOROSIS AND HORMONES

Your article on a new and potentially exciting treatment of postmenopausal osteoporosis with estradione and calcium was both balanced and rapid, appearing only days after the study's publication in *The New England Journal of Medicine* ("Bottle bones," Medicine, July 23). However, I am certain that Kislak's did not intend to convey the impression, when remarking that "injection of parathyroid hormone" helped an osteoporosis sufferer avoid being confined to a wheelchair, that parathyroid hormone is used in the treatment or prevention of osteoporosis. The effects of this hormone on bone tissue would be undesirable and contrary to those obtained in this study.

Dr. George Kuchel,  
Mount Sinai School of Medicine,  
New York City

### A DIVINE CZECHOSLOVAK HAMP

I could not help emitting a nostalgic sigh and chuckling over the story that David Smith, creator of Patek's Delicatessens, plans to "track the Czechoslovakia a thing or two about deli" ("Delicatessen diplomacy," Opening Notes, Aug. 30). He may be unaware that before the advent of Hitler, the Second World War and the Communists, Prague was a culinary hot spot and famous throughout the Continent for its unparalleled smoked meats and sausages. A delicatessen in Vienna, Paris or Berlin was not worth its salt if it could not procure a Prague ham, as they were known. Trying to describe their flavor would be as futile as trying to describe the sector of the gods.

Klaudek Roudis,  
Framont, Ont.

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## OPENING NOTES

The Dalai Lama comes calling, Geoffrey Giuliano hangs up his clown costume, and Brian Mulroney hooks a big one

## AN EAR FOR A FISHY STORY

An editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer recently asked the burning, or perhaps glaring, question: "Who has the President's ear?" Ignoring such pressing issues as which of George Bush's cabinet members currently wields the most influence, the writer addressed the issue of who really sets the line that tells Bush with a fishhook in his right earlobe during an outing in catch bluefish fish holes in Kew-Forest park, Me. At the time, White House spokesman Martin Flitner told the President's youngest son, Jeb, a Florida real estate entrepreneur, that the Plain Dealer appeared skeptical of their explanation.



Bash, Maloney: Hook, line, sinker

reported that "these wretched and malicious" accusations were the work of his companion, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.<sup>11</sup> The paper offered no explanations of how the song took place, but had certainly it is fully true. The editorial then recommended that, in the future, "entirely reliable" support for Bush's policy in the Persian Gulf, "the visitor from Ottawa has adopted the U.S. posture: hawk, line and snout." It continued, "The visitor from Ottawa was no doubt correct about his solutions during a crisis of global proportions." Thus, the newspaper speculated that the accident might serve as a reprimand to Bush for "playing loosely" on the golf course during the crisis. And it was the belief of the editorial that it was the belief of the first president himself to have had his eye glazed while in the White House.

### *Sending out the clowns*

**G**oulding's *Garden* has gone online. The famous Ronald McDonald school says that, after years of "deceiving thousands of innocent children" (adults), he has thrown in his salad bowl and started seeds to promote this joys of vegetarianism. Not only did *Garden*, a resident of Lockport, N.Y., spend time as a member of "the club called the McDonald's Garden of Eatin' Vegetables," but he also says that he is intended to submit to a quiz, posing as "The More Fun! Magical Burger King," which involved preparing a children's magic show celebrating the joys of growing and eating his McDonald's-served Burger King Cows. Now, the farmer clown is selling all his 1973-to-be-published memoirs, *Memories of a Corporate Clown*. And as a bonus, he'll be happy to make appearances for past time. *Garden* is developing a magic show that he plans to take to schools



### Guidance: years of decoding children

and vegetarian food fairs. He added, "This show is my way of saying sorry for selling out so blatantly to consumers who make their millions off the murder of countless animals and the exploitation of children for their own ends." A lot to beef about.

## A FEAST FIT FOR ROVER

U.S. diplomatic personnel who find their homes for the safety of the embassy during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait later sent teams to survey the damage to their property. One woman called the state intelligence department in Washington to say that she was amazed to learn that some of the invaders not only consumed her ice cream and liquor, but also prepared a meal of Galien-Burgers from her turkey sauce. The empty dog food wrappers, bottle and lying pans were left on the kitchen counter. "My dog never had it so good," the cable said.

## NO ROOM AT THE COMMONS

In 1986, Brian Mulroney met visiting Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov. When Luch Waleus, another Nobel laureate, was in Canada last fall, Mulroney invited him to speak to a joint session of Parliament. And in June, Nelson Mandela received the same honor. But a federal official acknowledged privately that the Dalai Lama, exiled leader of Tibet, snubbed by an million followers and winner of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize, has not been offered special treatment when he visits Canada here this



Mandates: Approved



The Dalai Lama: no red carpet

Lama fled his homeland when China took over Tibet and Mandela was not impressed by the official, who declined to let his name be used as "evidence against Tibetanism as well as South Africa." Maloney's press secretary said it may be appropriate for a cabinet member to have such capacity as a spiritual carpet always rolled up.

Child's  
play

**T**his fall, Canada's Prime Minister will welcome 87 world leaders to the United Nations to take part in an international conference dedicated to easing the problems of the world's underprivileged children. And Brian Mulroney's stewardship at



### Shutter troubles at home

the night before, for a Prince Memon who had to endure a mixture of sniffs and political disarray. But even as everywhere in the world have disrupted some plans and diminished the high hopes for the gathering, the president of Pakistan recently fired Benazir Bhutto, the country's piousible prime minister, who was to have co-hosted the summit alongside Mulwony. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said that Bhutto allowed rampant corruption in her administration. And the tensions in the Persian Gulf have created hopes that decreased military spending by the rich nations—resulting from the easing of Cold War tensions—might make more money available for the world's young and hungry. But even President, Canada's Mulwony, who has been in Ottawa for a week, has not yet left for Ottawa. "In Ottawa, we have no time for politics, we're working on the peace," he said. "I spoke to Mr. Mulwony last week, and he is delighted with the war situation and is not out."

## TELEVISION TIES THAT BIND

Atlantic Canada's new fighting to preserve their ties with the community of Bangor, Me., 120 km south of the border. If the bill approves, a proposal to switch the A&T-TV affiliate from Bangor to Detroit. In November, Atlantic Canadians will trade interviews with Maine lobster fishermen for reports on big-city drug raids. The smattering of on-air compromises that made the application any sort that the change will improve the quality of the signal. But viewers say that they prefer Maine gun culture and local weather reports to a clearer picture. Two Bangor, a columnist in the Halifax Daily News, wrote, "I'm only a simple viewer, but the picture on my set looks fine." Switching stations changes more than just channels.

## LAUNCHED WITH A LITTLE LUCK



**Dolphin**  
arrives in



**Delphin: a good source for codine**

little—an observation that provided little comfort to the families bidding emotional farewells.

the three of sons. Then, just as the ships were preparing to leave, a school of about 20 dolphins encircled the vessels. Soto was observant: "It was a positive sign. It gave me goose bumps when I saw it." Dolphins, which are a traditional symbol of good luck for sailors, had not put on a show in the harbor for seven years. Sotol Fox, Canada's federal fisheries department research scientist, "They were probably attracted by

## Wealthy widows take sides

The battle lines were drawn in Hudson, Que., just across the Ottawa River from Oka. All summer, weakly residents have been giving food and sympathy to the Mi-shanaks mauling the harricades. And the local press has complained about the increased presence of the Siksai du Québec as a town that is a bastion of well-to-do snobs. Now, they're raising money to help pay legal costs that may be incurred by the Warrior. Said Hudson resident Robert Galt: "A lot of snobs here depend on Mi-shanaks for work done around the yard and that sort of thing." Friends in need.

## Our secret ingredient.

Fact: Most Canadian rye whiskies are distilled from corn. We have a secret ingredient. See if you can find it in this ad. Hint: Look for a three letter word.



## COLUMN



# The gun barrel created this land

BY BARBARA AMIEL

When I first read about the dispute between the Mohawks and local authorities in Oka, Que., my sympathies certainly lay on the side of the Indians. I've spent a good deal of my life fighting "city hall" and its colossal-rules bureaucracy, sitting snugly on their horns and rules. My files are filled with letters that I have written asking for explanations or action from various levels of government on various requests that I have made.

I've never had much luck in getting a reply. Perhaps, I thought, the Mohawks Warriors have come up with the solution: man the barricades and fight. At least half the problems in our world are the result of people giving up passively to governments that order them around and meddle in areas of citizens' lives that are simply none of their business.

As the situation worsened, I began to wonder about the actual facts of the dispute: to whom did the disputed land belong in law? This is, surely, a civil matter; but the courts could adjudge. What puzzled me, and I relied through the voluminous media reports, was that previous little information was being given out on the facts of the case: surely the town council had a basis to its claim and surely there were treaties giving the Mohawks standing in the law. Where were the relevant statutes? What were all our investigative reporters doing when not reporting in excruciating detail the latest grim expression on the face of the police or the most recent difficulty elderly citizens were facing in getting fresh vegetables and milk?

These questions concerning the response and the responsibility of the media have become academic now. What happened this past week is of far more interest: the Mohawks Indians have declared themselves a politically sovereign nation. This, of course, is the consequence of years of misapplied policies in Canada and finally brings the matter into real focus. On this issue, Canada will either have to pull itself out of its misapplied policies of multiculturalism—

*I do not want to see anyone massacred, but a really strong show of force at the barricades may be needed to keep casualties down*

allow—sprawled in the muddled leftish thought processes begun in the Pearson years—or simply melt down into dozens of little sovereignties.

Being a politically sovereign nation is a perfectly legitimate aim, although I doubt that the Mohawks really understood all that decision would entail. The first consequence, of course, is that one is not subject to the laws of Canada, which may well be their aim. No doubt, they would also like to live in peace and harmony with Canada—and to use its roads, electricity, social services, telephone systems and postal services. But I have not yet heard Georges Erasmus, chief of the natives' Assembly of First Nations, announce the use of Canada's infrastructure.

If the claims of the Mohawks are to be taken seriously, then there is very little to negotiate. The government of Canada must either accept their sovereignty and give away, say, part of Quebec's Montreal to this new nation, or they will have to fight.

From the Indian point of view, there may well have been all sorts of conditions and promises at the treaties negotiated with them that have gone unfulfilled or been neglected. This ought to be remedied. One can easily

imagine that treaties made in the 19th century with various tribes have been carefully interpreted and should be re-examined. The basis of all those treaties, usually—and indeed the basis of any nation—is that Canada is sovereign. There is such a thing as commonly owned land, and if any level of government wishes to expropriate it, compensation must be paid. But if the Indians are claiming sovereignty, then there is simply nothing to negotiate or re-negotiate.

One tends to forget, I think, that during the time the treaties were drawn up, an entirely different ethos prevailed—on both sides. There was plenty of land and it didn't bother our ancestors if the Indians were left large chunks on the other side of the river where they could hunt and fish. We could open up the West and build our railways without stopping their way of life.

The Indians, for their part, did not realize that in dealing with the French and English, they were dealing with a people on the verge of becoming an industrial civilization. Unlike the relatively advanced Indians in South America, North American Indians for the most part were simply a hunting and gathering culture. The Indians dealt with us as if we were simply another larger tribe. The peace pipe was smoked in the belief that each of us would live in their bit of land. We went along with this view.

The question is, how do you handle the matter now? I truly do not know what to say to a people who consider some or all of the laws of the land inapplicable to them. Nor do I want to see men or women massacred, although it seems to me that a really strong show of force now is the only way to keep casualties down to a minimum. One of the worst mistakes, in my view, incidentally, was allowing the 10 human rights observers to look into this affair. The matter has no international dimension in which human rights have been even threatened; let alone broken. Indians have a perfect right to take part in mainstream Canadian society, vote, get a job and have full equality before the law, while at the same time maintaining their special status as Indians, which gives them particular rights, privileges and exemptions.

The choices have come home to roost. The confused thoughts that have been behind our "divergent rights" have all materialized into a datum: we have forgotten that we cannot force a nation by means of force separate from the rubric of multiculturalism. A person's roots are a private matter, not a subject of public policy.

We mismanaged our native people to feel explained. We encourage luxury to eliminate the idea that, in fact, the British conquered this land. But, finally, perhaps something good may come of this muddle: Canada will either have to man our staff and face the fact that, like every other nation on earth, it is founded on violence—or it can develop up into bits of little nations. Perhaps, at long last, we will take the bullet and understand that the gun barrel created this country and that once more it will have to be used if Canada is to remain our home and native land.

# THE FINAL APPEAL

## AS MANITOBA'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN DRAWS TO A CLOSE, POLITICIANS TURN UP THE HEAT

The 48-year-old politician in a green shirt, white blouse and sneakers bounded up to a red brick house on an old-line Winnipeg street and knocked at the side oak door. "Hello, Sharon," said the well-groomed Winnipeg matron who opened the door. "My vote? You got it." For Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, that and similar greetings in her post-birth release of River Heights provided welcome support. And as the battle between Carstairs, Premier Gary Filmon's Conservatives and the New Democrats of Gary Doer enters its final week before the Sept. 11 Manitoba election, the contest for votes reached a new intensity last week as the three leaders engaged in a spirited, televised debate. But many commentators declared that the debate yielded no clear winner—were as public opinion polls indicated that large numbers of Manitobans were still undecided. Said lawyer Paul Edwards, 25, Liberal candidate for the Winnipeg-St. James riding: "There are not many easy seats in this election. Many voters are cynical. They say politics and politicians are a lot of garbage."

Some of that cynicism may be a result of the debate over the March Lake constitutional accord. After Filmon's majority Tory government withdrew its initial support for March Lake in December, 1988, the three leaders presented a united front against the accord. Then, again in a show of unity, they decided to endorse the accord during the June 11 Ministers' meeting in Ottawa—in return for an agreement that included concrete steps toward Senate reform. But with Mica Elpis Hegep, the sole aboriginal member of the Manitoba legislature, used procedural tactics to stymie the legislature's efforts to ratify March Lake before the accord's June 23 deadline, and in the wake of the accord's collapse, the sense of unity among the three leaders disappeared with Filmon's Aug. 7 election call and his campaign to seek a majority government.



Filmon, Doer (below) a spirited televised debate produced no clear winner.

Still, many Manitobans seemed relatively satisfied by the performance of the majority Tory government. "Majority government was working for us," said John Guo, 39, a carpenter trainee at Red River Community College. "I would still like to see another minority government."

Such sentiments have clearly presented a challenge to the three leaders, whose efforts to attract voters were especially evident during last Tuesday's debate. Although a June poll done by the Angus Reid Group indicated that Filmon's Tories were supported



by 51 per cent of divided voters, compared with 38 for the Liberals and 18 for the NDP. Tory and Liberal leaders say that as much as 40 per cent of the electorate remain undecided. And during last week's debate, Carstairs and Doer wasted little time in appealing for votes with a hand-drawn attack on the premier. The two criticized Filmon for, among other things, his government's handling of a dispute with the province's doctors, which resulted in a recent two-day doctors' strike. But Filmon held his own, and in the end he declared: "I came to tell Manitobans where I stood and I accomplished exactly that. Gary Doer had no answers about the future of Manitoba and Sharon Carstairs didn't have any answers at all."

In fact, the Tories are

clearly counting on Filmon's generally sunny personality and his director's to attract voters. For one thing, the premier's 20-year stint against March Lake, in the face of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's wrath, appeared to strengthen his own reputation and dispel the widespread perception that he was soft and vacillating. Declared University of Manitoba political scientist Paul Thompson, "Filmon was seen such as the new kid on the block among the Western powers. But he has grown in stature—and he is remarkably tough."

As a result, the Conservative campaign has focused almost exclusively on the premier, straining his background as the Winnipeg-born son of a birth-control garment trade immigrant and pointing him as a case-peddling loner only seen with the strength to meet the challenges of the 1980s. At the same time, the party is working to make any connection between the provincial Conservatives and Mulroney's highly unpopular federal Tories.

The Liberals have stressed that every link in their efforts to undermine Filmon. Aside from attempting to portray the premier as a man who shunned his pre-March Lake stance in late 1988 and swung back to favor in Ottawa in June, Liberal will have also characterized Filmon as a puppet of Ottawa. And Liberal MP Lloyd Averych, whose federal Winnipeg-South Centre riding encompasses five Liberal-held provincial constituencies, and

that the link between Mulroney and Filmon is a key common need. Said Averych, who has strongly campaigned for Carstairs: "The moment that this campaign switches to how voters start to be together these two Tories."

But last week, there were few indications that any dramatic shifts were developing. And one reason may be the difficulty that the Liberals face in closing the wedge of the sympathy between Filmon and Mulroney in the months before they appeared to resolve their differences during the Ottawa meeting. Filmon himself claimed that there is still a wide rift between the provincial and federal Tories—largely because of his perceived stand against the March Lake accord. "I am not high on the Prime Minister's Christmas card list," he told a meeting of Winnipeg businessmen last week.

The impopularity of the federal Tories made it impossible for the provincial party to make much public use of cabinet members and others from Ottawa in the campaign. But the Liberals were taking full advantage of popular members of their federal party in their battle. This week, federal Liberal Leader Jean Chretien was scheduled to spend three days in the province. He will hold a full caucus meeting of his MPs and campaign for Carstairs. In contrast to Mulroney, Chretien remains popular in the West. According to a Gallup Canada Inc. poll released at the end of July, 22 per cent of respondents in the Prairies said that the Liberal leader would make the best prime minister—compared with a mere one per cent for Mulroney.

The Liberals were clearly hoping that Chretien's visit, including an address to a Winnipeg rally and a visit to Portage la Prairie, would attract voters in the campaign's final days. And at least some Manitobans indicated that the federal Liberal leader's presence could have an effect. Said Froelich Stodolka, 33, a waiter in downtown Winnipeg's Bonanza wine bar: "As an undecided, maybe swinging towards Filmon, but if Chretien comes here, I might go with the Liberals."

The third-place NDP, meanwhile, campaigned as the party capable of making a surprise finish. Declared Doer last week: "We are the underdog—and we will surprise everyone on election day." But for the most part, New Democrats make few references to the possibility of the party forming the next government. Instead, they focus on such standard



Carstairs (left) campaigning: an unusually large number of undecided voters

## National Notes

### BUCHANAN STUBBLES

New Scotia's Liberals won a provincial by-election held in the riding of Cape Breton Centre—winning Premier John Buchanan's Conservatives, placing third behind the NDP. The Tories, who still hold 28 seats in the 52-seat legislature, have faced allegations of widespread corruption within the government.

### A DROP IN POPULARITY

According to an Angus Reid poll conducted just one week before Ontario's Sept. 6 election, support for Premier David Peterson's Liberals had slipped behind that of the provincial New Democrats under Bob Rae. The poll—conducted six weeks within a margin of plus or minus three percentage points, 19 times out of 20—got support for the NDP among divided voters at 38 per cent, compared with 34 per cent for the Liberals. The Tories remained in third place with 24 per cent.

### DISCUSSING ABUSE

Roman Catholic Church officials announced that they are sending a package of information about sexual abuse within the church to the country's 11.4 million Catholics. The information is intended to help parsons deal with the recent rash of sexual abuse allegations and charges against priests.

### PRIVATIZATION STRAIGHT

Senators on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's privatization campaign suffered a setback when the Court of Queen's Bench ruled against the Tory government's attempt to sell the general insurance section of Saskatchewan Government Insurance, a Crown company.

### DEPENDING ON DRUGS

A report presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police in St. John's, Nfld., and that Bigby drugs are now the majority of organized crime in Canada. Said the report: "Every facet of organized crime depends on drugs as a primary source of income."

### BUFFALO SLAUGHTER

A federal environmental assessment panel recommended the slaughter of the largest herd of wild buffalo in the world, the roughly 4,000 bison and wood bison of Wood Buffalo National Park on the border between Alberta and the Northwest Territories. The panel said that there was no way to eliminate the tuberculosis and brucellosis that have plagued the herd since the 1920s. The diseases could spread to cattle on neighboring ranches.

But Doesen also tried to reassure Minnesota businessmen that the NEP has the economic resources to lead Minnesota efficiently. Last week, appearing at a specially attended Washington Chamber of Commerce breakfast, he said that under the previous NEP government of Edward Pawley, the economy was stronger than it has been under Piltow's Three A's. And, along with the other two leaders, he endorsed a program set forward by Waseng 2000, a nonpartisan, economic planning organization, to improve the province's business climate. The plan includes a revision of Minnesota's tax and business laws to keep it competitive with other provinces and programs to integrate its business, labor and health care in the economy.

The Toronto Liberal campaign has also focused on economic issues. Pléme unveiled a blueprint for the province's economic future that would include a program aimed at helping businesses to develop new products and find new markets. Under that plan, the province would also earmark \$10 million to help companies gain technological expertise. Declared the premier: "This is the time for Manitoba to take over its own destiny. We no longer can rely on national economic policies. That failed us last fall." Liberals' Centrist, not concentrated on the economy, promising a five-year, \$250-million support program from 1991 to 1995. Said the Liberal leader: "Investing in research and development today will get Manitoba moving."

But in spite of the flood of protest, many Manitobans, after three provincial elections in four years, seemed likely to delay making a decision this time until voting day. "Election situations are highly volatile in Canada today," observed Thomas "Archie" van Aengen. "There is not a lot of faith or even high expectations about the different parties." That lack of faith may partly explain why the province's leadership is so keen to push for a referendum. "I'm seeing a growing demand for minority government—on the grounds that one party alone is not qualified to lead the province," noted William Rennie, a professor of geography at the University of Winnipeg. "Minority government is the last government. This Tory government was reasonable, but I fear change in majority status. I would be just as happy with a Liberal minority government." But even after their campaign wound down, the three parties were, in fact, still in a race to convince voters that, in the end, their parties could govern.

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### Manitoba's parties lure native candidates

**H**e has worked as a plumber, restoration director, business developer, operator and even a job coach. But George Haden, a 44-year-old Indian, says that no job has tested him like running for a seat in the Manitoba legislature. "This is the toughest thing I have had to do," said Haden, the non-candidate in Winnipeg's recently-stricken Pelt Douglas riding. Haden's Conservative opponent is another native: Calvin Pongrac, 65, former president of the Urban Indian Association. In fact, as unprecedented crisis waves have overshadowed the challenges of meeting political office in Manitoba's 21 election "polling stations," Haden has been one of the fiercest of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, referring to RCMP Major Elgar Harper, the Ojibwe Cree who in June blocked passage of the Meech Lake constitutional accord in Manitoba.

In the past legislature, Harper, who virtually assumed the role of returning his northern Manitoba riding of Rupertsland, sat as the sole aboriginal MLA. And Indian leaders acknowledge that political interest among the province's 67,000 natives has been slow to develop. They say that, fuelled largely by Harper's well-publicized stand against Minch Lake because he "claimed that it did not address aboriginal rights, Indians have begun to believe that they can influence the political course of events." There is a new sense that natives can make a difference," says Cyril Knepper, 49, a Manitoba Cree who served as a Winnipeg NDP MP for eight years.

But the new interest in politics among Indians has led to at least two cases where activists

are running against each other in the same college. And the rush to recruit Indian candidates has led to some embarrassment for political organisers. In St. John's, the Liberals all promoted the fact that Neil Goudry is a Métis—the offspring of a white-Indian marriage. Mr. Goudry quickly informed us he did not want to be referred to as an Indian, but as a French-Canadian. Liberal officials at the University of Alberta said they did not want to appear to be claiming on the entire halfbreed. In The Pas, Tory organisers announced that their candidate, community college administrator Alfred McDonald, was Métis. Shown later, partly effusive, he sheepishly acknowledged that McDonald's background is Chinese and Scottish.

Still, the theories are clearly aware of the political appeal of Indian and part-Indian candidates, especially in northern Manitoba, where natives constitute up to half of some rural populations. In the Nip family in Flin Flon, for example, the Liberals are clearly hoping that their candidate, Patrick Flaherty, can secure an upset over New Democrat incumbent Jerry Storie, a white Flaherty, chief of the Mathias Colony band in Pukotagan, Man., a real estate millionaire who has served as Canada's foreign representative at United Nations meetings on native self-government and the environment. Flaherty is a well-known figure in the region, partly because of his well-publicized and successful campaign against the oil-wreck at a natural lake; it is that Flaherty would again be the sole native voice in the Manitoba legislature.

JOHN HOWSE is *Wine Editor*

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

CANADA

## Five for the Senate

Mulroney edges closer to Tory control

A 19:30 one might last week, the dinner guests were settling down for coffee in the kitchen of Connelley Dr. Neo's solution. Toronto housewife and wife, Sheila, appeared to ignore the call, a houseguest answered it. After several seconds, the master, appearing flustered, handed the receiver to Dr. Neo. The caller was Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, whom Dr. Neo, a 52-year-old businessman and Conservative party spokesman, said that he had met "casually on a few occasions." After the two men exchanged pleasantries, Mulroney said, "Can I am calling to ask you to serve in the Senate?" A started but exuberant Dr. Neo, who arrived in Canada from Italy when he was 13, later told Maclean's: "It is such a thrill it is hard for me to talk about. I will have to try keeping my mouth shut more often until I learn how to be as effective as usual."

With that, Dr. Neo last week became one of the first in a series of appointments that Mulroney is expected to make to fill a total of 15 Senate vacancies — and reduce a Liberal majority — before the upper chamber resumes sessions on Sept. 15. Along with Dr. Neo, Mulroney appointed former Liberal energy and trade minister Pat Carney, 55, from British Columbia; Quebec notary and longtime party activist Mario Desjardins, 60, former federal air controller; New Brunswick provincial cabinet minister Nancy Todd, 41. All five began drawing a basic salary of more than \$82,000. Seniors also receive a series of perquisites that include a new automobile brand of \$255 a day. Said a smiling Mulroney in response to reporters' questions about the new senators: "Strong Tories. They are all clearly right-thinking Canadians."

Mulroney's selections attracted some criticism — most strongly in *Weekend* columns, where there is a deeply felt split, for making the Senate an elected body. In British Columbia, which last month followed the earlier lead of Alberta by passing legislation providing for the election of nominees for the Senate from the province, a clearly annoyed Premier Wm. Vander Zalm acknowledged that he was "upset" at Mulroney's move. And Quebec's Zalm added that he would proceed with plans for a Senate election despite Carney's appointment to represent the province.

But the new appointments already had less to do with provincial representation. In Ottawa there they did with altering the existing political balance of power within the 104-seat Senate. Since the Tories were elected in 1984, the Liberals' strong majority in the upper chamber of Parliament has frequently allowed them to delay and occasionally threaten to kill legisla-

tion that they did not like. That situation has become particularly urgent because Liberal senators have threatened to block passage of the legislation to put the government's unpopular Goods and Services Tax in place on Jan. 1. Following last week's appointments, the standings in the chamber are: 52 Liberals, 36 Tories, one Reform Party member, one Independent Liberal, and four Independents. Since

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they should take even stronger steps to overcome Liberal opposition in the upper chamber. Senate House Leader Lowell Murray, for one, has urged him to exercise a provision of the 1867 British North America Act that could give the Tories two more seats than the Liberal party — although not as overall majority — by replacing the Senate by up to eight additional seats. Under the Constitution, the three Liberals can ask the Governor General — who must formally seek the monarch's approval — for permission to resign the Senate. Only once before has a prime minister attempted to use the provision in the 1870s, Liberal Alexander Maclean sought to enlarge the chamber, but Queen Victoria rejected his request on the ground that government legislation was in so immediate peril. But most analysts consider it highly unlikely that Queen Elizabeth II would now follow her great-great-grandmother's example.

Liberal senators angrily oppose Murray's recommendation. The party's deputy senate leader, Royce Frith, said the action would be "unthinkable" because "it is only supposed to be used in the national interest, and that is not this case here." But Conservatives rejoiced that the Senate, as an unelected body, has no moral right to reject legislation passed by the elected House of Commons. "I trust it is understandable," Conservative deputy Senate leader, William Doody declared. "I find the Liberals' unopposed outrage over anything to do with the Senate a bit hard to take." But even some Tory senators say that they regret that it was necessary to make new appointments — because they would rather have seen sweeping changes to all aspects of the Senate.

Many note, the act of the Liberal's domination appears to be near as end. One Liberal senator, Joseph-Paul Gauthier, said: "Because they would rather have seen sweeping changes to all aspects of the Senate."

Still, both reformers and the new appointees are clearly aware of the importance of the decisions they will face in the coming months. Said Frith: "The GST legislation is critical to our country, and we would be remiss if we just closed our eyes and let it through." For his part, Dr. Neo, an economist who recently returned from a mountain-climbing trip in Tibet, said he is elated — but not awed — by his new position. Said Dr. Neo: "If I can survive a mountain in Tibet with just a guide and my tent, I am sure I can learn to handle the Senate." With its new and clearly overwhelming majority, Dr. Neo should feel the pen and laws of life in the red chamber comparatively gentle.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa

# THE FURY OF OKA

THE CRISIS AT  
THE BARRICADES  
LEADS URGENCY  
TO THE SEARCH  
FOR SOLUTIONS

They stood eyeball to eyeball in fierce confrontation, the masked Mohawk Warrior and the young soldier from the celebrated Canadian regiment. Both held automatic rifles. Captured by television and broadcast again across the country, the image was riveting. It also brought the essence of the struggle. In the end, it was the Mohawks who turned away from the first-blood youth from the Royal 22nd Regiment after facing each other among the pines in the Kanesatake Indian reserve near the beleaguered town of Oka, Que. Outnumbered, outgunned, outmaneuvered, the masked Mohawk Warriors of Kanesatake by Sunday evening were left with little choice but to bring to an end the ordeal that harassed Quebec—and the rest of the country—for much of the summer.

What began in the spring as an innocuous, almost banal, disagreement over the laws of Oka's plan to expand a municipal golf course into disputed land escalated into a full-blown national crisis. The confrontation between armed Mohawk militants and the Canadian Armed Forces has shattered Canadians' complacency towards native affairs, exposing in the process gross undercurrents of racial bigotry (page 26). At times, it paralyzed governments at both the federal and provincial levels, reveal-

ing that old methods are no longer adequate and indicating additional urgency to the search for new approaches (page 28). Even more seriously, it has threatened to entrench all of Canada in a potentially divisive confrontation with the nation's Indians. "This is not going to be the last battle. This is not the last stand," declared Georges Erasmus, national chief of the 592,000-member Assembly of First Nations, as the troops closed in on the Mohawks last week. "This could be the first stand."

In the showdown at Kanesatake on the Labor Day holiday weekend, the armed Mohawk militants, who had been at the forefront of the battle for seven weeks, had dwindled to a small band of no more than 25 by the time the troops moved in. The soldiers began their advance on Sept. 3 after receiving complaints of violence on the reserve. Two Mohawks, former band councillor Francis Jacob and his

son Corey, were beaten with baseball bats because, Francis Jacob said later, they were trying to curb mounting incidents of vandalism directed at residences on or near the reserve. By the end of the day, the Warriors were trapped on the grounds of the Kanesatake alcohol and drug treatment centre, with a riverine cliff behind them and surrounded on the other three sides by some 400 troops attached to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal 22nd, the renowned Van Doos.

Huddled into the shadows with slow but steady deliberation by soldiers who meticulously fanned down threats, snails and challenges, the Mohawk Warriors prepared for a siege. They reinforced the approaches to the two-story treatment centre with felled trees and ditches. The strongpoints that they had built earlier were dismantled swiftly by the troops. Among those was the major barrier that had been reinforced with vehicles used from the Sherbrooke (2nd) when the Warriors rejected an assault by the provincial police force on July 13. Reportedly during the showdown with the troops, armed Warriors emboldened individual soldiers, often fire-to-fire. "Are you ready to die?" one Warrior screamed at a soldier. "Before I die, I'm going to take out 50 of you, and you're No. 1 on my list."

Struggle Other Mohawks were there, too, despite their predicament; the struggle would continue elsewhere. "There's going to be a war, man," shouted one Warrior. "All the nation's going to wage you out." He declared another: "No more negotiations. They break and break and break agreements. So this is what Indians are going to be doing from now on."



Erasmus (left) soldier and masked Mohawk eye-to-eye in Kanesatake: 'This is not going to be the last battle'

From the outset, the confrontations at Kanesatake and around the nearby Kakebawake Mohawk reserve have been dogged by misunderstanding and miscalculation. None was more tragic than the murder that cost Sgt. Marcel Lemay his life on July 11. He died in a hail of bullets as he and 100 other members of the provincial police force's tactical team failed in an attempt to surround a small Mohawk barricade in Kanesatake. The repercussions of that incident have since spread from the picturesque little town 30 km west of Montreal to Kanesatake in the northern suburbs of the city and far beyond. Last week's events, with a few notable exceptions, were cast in the same mold.

At Kanesatake, only hours before the showdown at Oka, the warriors signaled the beginning of the end. Part of them, also perhaps, stride purposefully from behind the barricade blocking Highway 132 near the town of St-Catharines, south of Montreal. They formed a circle and looted, throwing long shadows in the late-afternoon sun across the highway's two narrow lanes. For several minutes, watched by a silent host of masked Mohawk Warriors, a squad of soldiers and a number crowd of local residents, they quietly smoked a pipe of peace. Then, the necessary conflict: the unexpected

and walked away, while the troops and the Mohawks began dismantling the makeshift barrier. Not long after, an Armed Forces helicopter touched down at the site, and Lt.-Col. Robin Gagnon, the battalion's commanding officer, emerged to oversee the task. Later, he observed, "Today represents, possibly, the end to this whole conflict between the Mohawk people and Quebec."

Caution: That note of caution proved to be prophetic. Within hours, the first of several setbacks stilled progress towards a settlement of the Mohawk standoff. Last week's crisis began on a bleak note. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, emerging from a weekend meeting in Gatineau with the members of his Quebec Conservative caucus, labelled the demands laid by Mohawk negotiators during weeks of talks to resolve the crisis as "absurd." Added Mulroney: "We will not be intimidated by individuals who refuse to accept the laws of the country." The next day, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa broke off negotiations. He asked the army to move in to dismantle the five barricades on the Kanesatake reserve, which blocked access to the Mercur Bridge into Montreal, and the three barricades at Oka sealing off the Kanesatake community. Echoing the Prime Minister, he warned that his

government would not tolerate "groups of citizens who accept laws that they approve and refuse others they do not like."

The army, which had been moving troops and equipment into position for the previous 10 days, responded swiftly. Gen. John de Chastelain, Canadian Forces chief of staff, appeared on national news television to declare that military action was imminent. "As the last resort of Canadian law and order," he said, "we cannot fail." Few of those who watched on TV as de Chastelain delivered the ultimatum doubted that the steady general was capable of acting on his implied threat to use the military's firepower to end the standoff (page 24).

And that firepower was impressive. With the atmosphere of tension palpably mounting, de Chastelain deployed a total of 3,033 troops, 2,500 of them combat soldiers. The 2nd Battalion of the Royal 22nd lightened the circle around Kanesatake. The 2nd Battalion of the same regiment moved closer to the barricades at Kanesatake. The Royal Canadian Regiment's 2nd Battalion supported the Van Doos at Kakebawake. The 3rd Artillery Regiment did the same at Kanesatake. One-green equipment jammed the narrow roads in and around the two communities. Two Huey helicopters and CF-5 reconnaissance jets circled over the



## CF-5s AND PSYCHOLOGY TURNED UP THE PRESSURE ON THE WARRIORS

ships. The naval training ship HMCS Acadia patrolled the St. Lawrence River. "We are now entering a new phase in this crisis," said Lt.-Gen. Kent Foster, the effort in overall command of the attacking forces terrified against the Mohawks. "We are now going into a military operation."

Still, Armed Forces commanders initially launched a campaign of psychological warfare designed to weaken the morale of the Warriors and civilians on the reserve. In one early incident, two CF-5s swooped low over the reserve at Oka just as Mulcahey completed a televised news conference in which he urged the Indians to lay down their arms. The following day, the tension among the entrenched Mohawks became even more pronounced as they watched a televised video, which the army had prepared, showing aerial photos of the Indian positions and detailed accounts of the weapons believed to be in Warrior hands—but revealing nothing of the army's own situation or deployment.

By midweek, the warnings clearly had frayed Mohawk nerves. Behind the Indian lines at Kahnawake, one 36-year-old Warrior, who identified himself as Blaster, compared his emotions to those of a convict who arrives at the gallows only to have his execution abruptly postponed. Said Blaster: "They got us all peeped up and then they cut the rope again." But the soldiers facing the Mohawks clearly took the risk of casualties seriously. Intelli-

gence reports indicated that the Warriors at Kahnawake were well prepared to defend themselves. In addition to AK-47s and other assault rifles, the military also suspected the Warriors of possessing at least one mortar, as well as one or more 30-caliber machine-guns and RPG-7s—a type of rocket-propelled grenade. "They have anti-armor weapons," Maj. Alan Tremblay told Maclean's. "One shot from an RPG-7 will kill whoever is in the vehicle."

**Tensions:** The risk of a bloodbath created tensions well beyond the limits of the two blockaded communities. In New Brunswick, more than 50 Mi'kmaq Indians set out by car and bus to drive to Quebec with the declared intention of forming a human buffer between the army and the Mohawks. In Toronto, demonstrators forced their way into the Conservative party offices to protest the decision to order the army into action. And in British Columbia, Gitksan-Wet'uns' Chief Don Ryan said that, if the army shot Indians, "then you're going to get a long, protracted fighting

condition by the Indian people, and it'll be guerrilla warfare."

But even the first signs of a breakthrough emerged on Aug. 29. Lt.-Col. Gagnon and Jack Le Claire, a businessman and traditional Mohawk chieftain at Kahnawake, who had been meeting quietly for more than a week at an undisclosed location, managed to reach an informal agreement to allow both sides to begin partly dismantling the five barricades around Kahnawake. Then, the troops and Mohawks began tearing down the barriers, which have enraged residents of the dormitory suburbs scattered along the St. Lawrence's South Shore opposite Montreal. "The decision we came to was to avoid bloodshed," said a visibly relieved Le Claire. "We have not surrendered. It is strictly something to ease tensions, to help negotiators come to a settlement."

The maneuvers worked, for a time at least. A team of negotiators representing various factions of Mohawks, as well as representatives of both the Quebec and federal governments, embarked on a several round of talks across the river from Kahnawake in the Hilton Hotel at Dorval airport. Meeting in a series of sessions, one of which lasted for 20 hours without a break, the talks began to shape the fundamental outlines of an agreement that offered some promise of



Mulcahey vowed action

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY AROCH

## CLASHING VIEWS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Throughout the disputes at Chicomungy and Oka, one single issue that created the strongest disagreement during negotiations was the Mohawks' insistence upon political sovereignty. A Mohawk spokesman summed up their position: "You stole your laws, ways and traditions, and we will keep ours." Federal negotiator Bernard Roy said that was a demand for "what no responsible government could ever concede that Canadian laws no longer apply to them and that the Mohawks must be recognized as a separate nation-state." But many activists said that there is justification for the Mohawk claim that they never legally surrendered their independence.

Mohawk history is replete with evidence of a sophisticated and deeply rooted political system. Historians have traced the origins of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy—which includes the Mohawks—back over 2,000 years. At the heart of the

confederacy was a system of representation based on family and community consensus that provided European democrats by centuries. As well, an unwritten constitution called the Great Law of Peace governed relations among individuals, families and communities.

In the Mohawk view, 18th-century peace treaties signed with a succession of European settlers were alliances between independent



states—not descendants of surrender. Last week, Mohawk negotiators observed that those agreements were voided among nations at "the Two Row Wampum," a belt of white beads bordered with two parallel

strips of purple, according to the Mohawks, the wampum symbolized the path of two canoes—representing the allied Europeans and Iroquois nations—each pursuing its independent course while "respecting each other's sovereignty."

Others challenge that interpretation. Says Mulcahey, who teaches constitutional law at the University of Montreal, said, "It is almost impossible to get people to agree on what the historical record states—and the implications." Scholars added that native claims to sovereignty are compromised by Indians' acceptance of federal subsidies. Not even all Indians share the Iroquois view. Choctaw Selby Henderson, an American Choctaw Indian who met his Canadian Maricome wife while studying at Harvard University, "The Mohawks want to be sovereign. No one knows what that means. The Maricome do not want to be sovereign. They want to be integrated into a federation." Last week, it remained clear that the conflicting views of native sovereignty were far from being reconciled.

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COVER

withdrawing a peaceful resolution to the tense conflict.

But tensions and reversals continued to mark the crisis. Late on Aug. 26, weary Mohawk negotiators accused Quebec authorities of "sabotaging" an imminent deal by failing to allow deliveries of food and medicine through police and army lines into the blockaded communities. Roux was sharply withdrawn provincial officials from the talks at the Dorval Hilton and ordered the army to resume taking down the barricades by force. The discussions appeared to have foundered over the issue of possible future criminal prosecutions against Mohawks for acts committed during the crisis—and the Mohawks' insistence that those actions were defensible in protection of native sovereignty. Declared Jerry Pelletier, a Kennebunk Mohawk taking part in the talks: "Our people are not criminals for defending their own land."

**Dangerous:** Whatever the outcome of Quebec's Indian summer, it was clear that "events have forced the complex, troublesome issue of native affairs to the forefront of the national agenda. Indeed, that process began as just, when Manitoba Coss near MLA Elgius Harper played the country into political confusion with his oft-spoken use of parliamentary procedure as that province's legislature to help settle the Mohawk-Lake constitutional accord because it did not address native concerns. Quebec's Mohawks demonstrated that native rights issues could be posed in a far more dramatic—and dangerous—fashion.

When the Mohawks in the Kahnawake reserve scolded the Ministry of Indian Affairs, they did more than struggle across to Montreal. They also provided chilling evidence of the ease with which native groups across the country are capable of applying pressure on the rest of Canadian society. And even as the barricades fell last week, natives and non-natives alike appeared to be coming to grips with a new assessment of the Indians' potential leverage. Many native leaders underscored the urgency that they now feel should apply to meeting their concerns. After Mulroney criticized Mohawk agitators for delaying talks, Manitoba's Harper said: "We have waited 300 years. Who has been patient?"

What most Indians appear to want most is a form of sovereignty over their own affairs. But that goal has implications that are as far-reaching as they are unsettling. In Quebec, it has thrown a new light on Roux's plans for a massive and controversial expansion of the

Such tension was also evident among non-natives when anti-Mohawk demonstrators hurled rocks at a passing caravan of cars and trucks carrying Mohawk women, children and elderly attempting to flee the anticipated army assault on the Kahnawake reserve (page 30).



An Armed Forces bulldozer clears a wrecked Quebec police car from barricade outmaneuvered

James Bay hydroelectric development—the linchpin of his economic strategy. As Robert Kippen, legal adviser to the James Bay Coss, pointed out, "Now, Rouxman has to seriously consider the fact that there will never be a James Bay 2 if Indians say 'No.'" Indeed, the Assembly of First Nations' Rouxman told Western's that "99 per cent of the native population is pro-federal. But if Quebec were to begin the second phase of James Bay tomorrow, 1,000 of us would be there the next day."

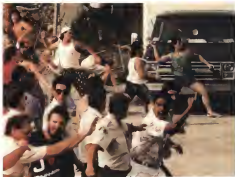
The attack was widely condemned, and the image of young, muscular men in T-shirts and shorts pelting the vehicles with huge chunks of debris may well remain etched in the national consciousness. It is certain to be bitterly remembered by the Mohawks. In a standard reaction, one unidentified Kahnawake woman told a radio phone-in program the following day that she would "never forgive the people who threw rocks at all those innocent children."

Among the Mohawks who had stood behind the barricades, the fear of retribution by the authorities was palpable. That fear appeared to be the principal reason for the Mohawks' negotiated settlement that the 100-day rule in future negotiations, within the two communities. These concerns may be unjustified. But the fact that they are as widely held—and so reflective of the widening gulf between native and non-native Canadians—is perhaps the most bleak of all the legacies left in the wake of a hot and sobering summer.



The Ven Does at a checkpoint: 'The last resort of law and order'

BARREY CAME to Montreal with DAN SOUZA and ANN MACLAUGHLIN in Ohio and BRUCE BOULGAC in Kahnawake



Protesters threw rocks at Mohawks leaving Kahnawake: 'absolutely disgraceful'

## FEAR AND FURY

### A MOB STONED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Night after night, for seven weeks, they came to the barricades. Carrying lawn chairs, barbecues and cases of beer, hundreds of residents from Châteauguay, Que., and surrounding communities crowded at the entrance to the locked Mercer Bridge, which normally gives them access to the island of Montreal. In scenes surrealistically lit after dark by police floodlights, the frustrated crowd jeered and taunted the Mohawks encamped behind their barricades on the Kahnawake reserves. They "just needed to let off steam," said Claude Roy, a Châteauguay resident whose usual 15-minute drive to work had stretched into a two-hour commute along winding back roads to another bridge. But, at times, the release deteriorated into an ugly display of violence and racial hatred. It culminated last week at the other end of the bridge, on the brutal afternoon when an unprovoked mob of 250 non-native stoned a convoy of 60 cars carrying about 100 Mohawk women, children and elders who were fleeing the reserve on the eve of a possible military invasion.

That violence—in which Mohawks said at

least nine people were injured, including a paraplegic struck by a rock in the back of the neck—shocked even some of the angry residents of Châteauguay. "The rocks were going too far," said Roy. "We cannot be more savage than the savages." It also brought a sharp rebuke from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who said that it was "absolutely disgraceful" and promised a full investigation into the actions of the two dozen men and Stasid du Québec (his) provincial police officers who made little effort to stop the attack on the Mohawks. Later, Québec appointed a special prosecutor to handle cases arising from the attack, and a man was charged by police.

The violence demonstrated that the Mercer Bridge was a battleground where the troubled reality of relations between native and non-native Quebecers was laid bare. Until July 11, when the Mohawks of Kahnawake erected their blockade on the bridge, those relations were, to most observers, peaceful. But the havoc unleashed during this summer's crisis have changed that. Said Roy Currie, a 44-year-old Mohawk resident: "It was strange to turn on my television set and see the faces of

people who I used to play hockey with baring us in enfilade." And even as the blockades began to come down last week, each group said they feared acts of vengeance from the other.

**Violence:** The bitterness of some unprovoked residents on both sides of the bridge had been building for weeks. Indeed, Châteauguay resident Ricardo Lopez called for intervention by the Canadian armed forces in the first days of the crisis. But many residents said that it was the seemingly intractable negotiations and the often heavy-handed response to their own protests that sustained the violence at the barricades. Said François Barlo, 47, chairman of the Châteauguay school commission. "People feel they have been abandoned by the governments."

The angriest residents struck back: More than 250 parents joined a Châteauguay school commission meeting last week to demand that children from the Kahnawake reserve be permanently banned from attending the commission's schools. As well, some Châteauguay residents prevented hospital staff from reaching the reserve from Montreal by boat and physically stopped a United Church minister from delivering food to the Kahnawake Mohawks. In response, young natives formed roving squads to ensure that residents who chose to leave the reserve by boat could land safely on the Montreal side.

Language tensions were also evident. Said Lucette Springer, principal of Châteauguay's English-speaking Howard S. Beland Regional High School, where 150 of the 860 students are natives: "The local English population was a little less aggressive towards the Mohawks. Many were upset, but they did not vent their feelings at the barricades as the French did." The school commission's Barlo, meanwhile, suggested that language has long been a wedge between Châteauguay's francophones and the Mohawks. Said Barlo: "The two peoples have lived side by side, but never together—because of language. Money per cent of the Mohawks did not learn French."

There are differing views of how long it will take to heal the wounds. Said Yvon Abiké, a sociologist at Montreal's University of Québec: "The whites will say, 'Let's forget it,' and go back to the reserve to play henge." But some Châteauguay residents, such as Roy, say that they are afraid of recurring violent confrontations between the two groups. And although the intensity of the passions may diminish, it is unlikely that either side will easily forget them.

BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

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# COOL AND COLLECTED

## A PATIENT GENERAL TAKES CHARGE AT OKA

The professional soldier whom the Canadian government turned to at the height of the Molokai crisis in 1985—a young man raised in a world of war and spies. Under his arm, John de Chastelain carried a suit of baggages. He had learned a lot by the age of 18. From his instructors at Fettes, a private boarding school in Scotland, he had learned to play the pipe—a solitary pleasure that became, a later years, his trademark. From his parents, there were other valued lessons. They were spies, working for the British as undercover agents during the Second World War. By example, they taught him coolness under pressure, clarity in the midst of chaos. Thirty-five years later, those lessons appear to serve de Chastelain well. Sent earlier and retired major-general Richard Roberts: "I'll enter a guess: you've got a great deal of patience and clarity, don't you? And if ever there is a man with those qualities, it is the general."

**Steady:** The challenges now facing de Chastelain are formidable. As Canada's chief of the defence staff—the commander of its 87,000-member active force on land, air and sea—the 53-year-old general is in charge of two simultaneous fronts involving Canadian defence forces. Three Canadian ships are on their way to the Persian Gulf to join an international blockade of Iraq. But domestic attention has been riveted on an Armed Forces contingent of more than 3,000 men—born in southwestern Quebec, sent there under orders to dismantle the Molokai Warrior blockade at Oka and Châteauguay—possibly, if at all possible. In a careful explanation of the military's role in quelling the Wapenticon and numerous forces, de Chastelain provided the steady clarity of a commander that admirers say is characteristic of his style. "The government has now gone to the court of last resort, which is us," de Chastelain said. "We cannot fail, because we are all that is left."

Beyond the image of a highly disciplined and articulate commander lies an extraordinary grand old intriguer. De Chastelain was born a British subject in Edinburgh, where his father, Alfred, worked at a British-owned oil company before the Second World War. With war uncertain, his mother, Marion, left the country in 1939 with her four-year-old son and five-year-old daughter, Jacqueline. Leaving the children with grandparents in England, Marion de Chastelain returned to intelligence work in France.

Meanwhile, Alfred de Chastelain, working for another branch of British intelligence, travelled through Europe and to Istanbul before he was captured by the Germans during a perilous drop into that country in 1943 and sent to a prisoner-of-war camp. By then in New

York City with her children, Marion became a controller of British secret agents under Sir William Stephenson, code-named Intrepid, before she returned to Europe in active service with the British intelligence. Because of his mother's assignments, John de Chastelain, by D-Day in 1944, at the age of 6, had crossed the Atlantic twice in wartime. In fact, the only break in an otherwise lifelong military connection was the 10 years he spent in schools in

Switzerland and Scotland. John de Chastelain joined his parents in 1945 in Alberta, where his father worked in a Calgary oil-field supply business. The young de Chastelain immediately selected as the Calgary Highlanders as a player, later enrolling at the Royal Military College (RMC) in Kingston, Ont. Sent Marion de Chastelain, now 80 and living in Calgary. "The military, I suppose, is in John's blood. It began at birth."

After graduating from the military college in 1963, de Chastelain had a meteoric rise through the military ranks. "He has always been the best at anything he has done," said one colleague. By 25, de Chastelain was a captain and aide-de-camp at army headquarters in Ottawa. Within five years, in 1967, he was commanding a 128-battalion in Cyprus. He was promoted colonel in 1974 and, three years later, was the commander of his alma mater, RMC. There, at age 40, he completed the grueling freemason double course—before being accused that he had seriously injured his leg midway. The painful strain to a knee and ankle laid him up for two weeks. In 1986, de Chastelain was promoted vice-chief of defence staff. A year later, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney made him a general and chief of the Armed Forces.

**Blunt:** The general's candor has sometimes provoked controversy. In 1983, de Chastelain wondered aloud whether women should be allowed in combat because of the physical and stress factors of battle. And he has ruffled some feathers in the past year with a blunt suggestion that Canada was incapable of defending its own borders. Still, supporters say that he commands enormous respect from troops and senior officers alike. Questioned by an officer last spring about an alleged double standard for fitness tests, de Chastelain retorted, "If you can pass out a fat general in two years, I'll personally fire him on the spot." And during a visit by Queen Elizabeth II to Calgary in July, de Chastelain boarded from a military limousine in a lift, baggage in hand, to take his place in the regimental pipe band. Sent reserves Maj-Gen. Bruce Leggett, a Toronto lawyer. "Then fellow was brought as they come," Canada's Armed Forces, and the country, coasted on those qualities to carry them through the crisis in Quebec—and in the Gulf

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By KATE FULTON in Ottawa

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# LEGACIES OF MISTRUST

## SUSPICION FUELS INDIAN FEARS

**I**n the nearly half-kilometre bungalow on the Micmac reserve at Eskomun, N.S., where Wilfred Bogue lives with his wife and four children, there are few signs of the violence that the 49-year-old Bogue has lived through—and thought that he had left behind. In the 1960s, Bogue, with several other equally restless Micmacs, left the Eskomun reserve to join the United States Marine Corps. He was two years old in Vietnam. When Bogue left the service and returned to the reserve, he lived more quietly, raising his family and working as volunteer affairs manager for the Grand Council of Micmacs that had just won. But last week, when the Bagues watched on TV as Marauders and members of the Canadian Armed Forces confronted each other at Quebec, they lived new fears. When seven-year-old Nicholas Bogue watched the TV news, he asked his father: "Did Quebec attack the I/N? (The People's Republic of India) they came here too?" Said a grandmother Wilfred Bogue: "I could not tell him it would not happen here."

**Critics:** Among many of the estimated 400,000 native Indians living in more than 2,200 reserves scattered across Canada, those emotions of fear and mistrust towards the country's authorities are commonplace. One reason is the constant and complex legal wrangling between natives and federal and provincial governments over who really owns Canada's land—and the rights that come with such ownership. All of the current native land claim constitution, in total, mean that one-half of the land mass of Canada. As well, Canada's Indians have more than 500 untested specific claims against the government, in which they allege that past treaties, many of them centuries old, have repeatedly been broken. Dearest Grievances Enquiries, the national chair of the Assembly of First Nations. "Canada's laws

have been put there to extinguish our rights."

In fact, Canada's Indians appear increasingly to share that conviction, as well as a collective determination to mount a constitutional. Declared one 58-year-old Ojibwa, who spent most of his life patrolling a lakeshore on the Keweenaw reserve carrying an M-16 assault rifle: "When it comes to native issues, you are born

dividing the Oldman River in order to disrupt a major dam and irrigation project. Last week, the Indians filed a court injunction ordering them to stop. The provincial government, which is holding the \$350-million dam, says it is needed to supply water to Lethbridge area farmers and seven small communities. The Fergus, who say that the dam would destroy sacred ground in their reserve, were consulting with lawyers on how to proceed.

● In Labrador, on several occasions over the past decade, the Innu have set up camps on the Canadian Forces base at Goose Bay to protest against low-level jet training flights over their traditional hunting grounds. The Innu say that the noise of the jets threatens their traditional game animals.

● In British Columbia, Indians from three bands of the 3rd Air Force have repeatedly blocked the road leading to the transportation of wood products. Over the past two months, the province's blockade have cost the railway between \$500,000 and \$750,000 for each day that the line was closed.

criticisms. Federal government figures show that natives can expect to live about eight years less than the national average life expectancy of 76.5 years. The health risks start early in life: a study conducted in 1988 by the Assembly of First Nations showed that infant mortality among natives in Ontario and the Northwest Territories was more than double that of non-native Canadians. The study cited reasons that included poor nutrition and health problems among mothers, coupled with "inadequate prenatal care, the effects of drugs and alcohol [and] poor housing, lack of sewage disposal and potable water and poor access to medical services."

For many natives, these problems will be part of their everyday existence for most—if not all—of their lives. In reserves from Labrador to the Pacific, natives endure an array of most-unpleasant conditions that include dramatically higher rates of alcoholism, unemployment, disease, violent crime and welfare dependency. Even the most optimistic young natives, growing up with visions of sharing the North American dream, often succumb to despair. Said Howard Bolden, a carpenter and Micmac band councillor in Eskomun: "When I was growing up, I had visions of making it, of doing well. But by the time I was 20, the bubble had burst."

**Critic:** In fact, the Eskomun reserve, 50 km northwest of Sydney in central Cape Breton, is better equipped than many reserves in other parts of the country. Its facilities include a strong and apparently effective local government, a large school and addiction treatment clinic and a junior high school where Micmac language and history courses are taught. But the reserve, which was supplied with running water and electricity only in the late 1960s, also reflects many of the traditional signs of poverty common to native communities. Many of the bachelors' weather-beaten houses in the Micmac reserve, the largest in the Maritimes, with more than 2,200 residents, bungalow power. Abandoned cars clutter front and backyards, where grass has not yet grown. Said band councillor Michael Denry: "When you see your own kids, you feel like crying. It is hardest on them."

Indians across the country say that they have long undergone overt discrimination from non-natives—often noted in apparent ignorance of Indian customs and rights. In one incident in Winnipeg last June, local police went to the home of Cyril Assiniboine, a celebrated Indian artist and traditional dancer, where two young children allowed them to without a moment's warning. The children, eagle feathers belonging to Assiniboine to the grounds that he was in illegal possession of the feathers of an endangered species. Two days later, the police acknowledged that Indians are allowed to possess eagle feathers because they have a religious and spiritual significance for

natives. The feathers were returned.

Other encounters between police and natives in Manitoba have frequently been more violent. After a Winnipeg police officer shot and killed Indian activist J. J. Harper in March, 1988, the provincial government called a judicial inquiry into alleged police actions. That inquiry is scheduled to present its report later this year. But, last month, natives in Brandon demanded that it report hearings to examine how police responding to a domestic dispute shot

swirl, he cried what he called a historic agreement that gave northern bands—the Dené and the Métis—ownership of about 72,000 square miles of land in the Northwest Territories, an area larger than three Maritimes provinces combined. But that agreement is unenforced, which also provided for payment of \$500 million over 15 years to the 15,000-strong communities, was rejected in July by their annual assembly on the ground that the deal would also abolish some historical strong-



Ojibwa family on an Ontario reserve: squalid conditions and discrimination

and wounded a 19-year-old Indian man in the neck.

**Critics:** Many Indians say that they were suspicious of prime minister Pierre Trudeau, who shortly after his election in 1980, said that they should move off their reserves and into the mainstream of Canadian society. But since then, Mulroney's Conservative government was elected in 1984, some leaders and their supporters say that Indians have grown even more suspicious of Ottawa. Wilfred Bogue, a former director general of policy planning for the federal native affairs department, is among the critics who say that, by giving the provinces more control over native affairs, the federal government has abdicated its constitutional responsibility to deal with Indian. Bogue, who resigned from his position in 1988, said that he did so out of disgust. He declared: "I could not live with the direction they were going in. This government seemed to be made up of a bunch of hardware salesmen."

For his part, Mulroney has strongly defended his government's native policies. Last

year, he said that he called a historic agreement that gave northern bands—the Dené and the Métis—ownership of about 72,000 square miles of land in the Northwest Territories, an area larger than three Maritimes provinces combined. But that agreement is unenforced, which also provided for payment of \$500 million over 15 years to the 15,000-strong communities, was rejected in July by their annual assembly on the ground that the deal would also abolish some historical strong-

But it will likely require many more, similar settlements to quiet the discontent. Said Bogue: "We do not wish to be told we are being given things, when the fact is that they were supposedly taken from us in the first place." And in Eskomun, Wilfred Bogue sat with his family on the Eskomun reserve, he said that he worries about the attitude of native young people who feel that they are dependent on welfare handouts. Declared Bogue: "How can they be proud of being Canadians when Canada is ashamed of them?" In the increasingly strained cohabitation between Indians and other Canadians, that question will demand fresh—and urgent—answers.

**ANTHONY WILSON SMITH** is Ottawa and GLEN ALLEN is Eskomun with **WILFRED BOGUE** in Winnipeg and **DAN MURRAY** in Oshawa.



Rosemary watching the news from Oka: "Canada's laws are there to extinguish our rights"

into it. So you either put up with what you get, or you do something about it." Increasingly, natives have chosen to act. Along with the cohabitation between Micmacs and Canadian and Quebec authorities in Quebec, Indian groups in other parts of the country have undertaken a series of recent challenges to federal and provincial authorities. Among them:

● In southern Alberta, militant Prairie Indians, using heavy earthmoving equipment, began

And last week, bands in Alberta, Ontario and New Brunswick contained their practice of the past several weeks of throwing up temporary roadblocks or slowing traffic on main highways to denigrate their maintenance that the federal and provincial governments act on native complaints.

Along with writing to assert what they are in traditional rights, native militancy also springs from the knowledge that the majority of Canadian Indians live in squalid, unhealthy



Bell: "I think our native leaders will have to become more unified."

# THE DANGEROUS NEXT STEP

## CANADIANS CALL FOR REAL CHANGE

As the Mohawks burn in Quebec towns last week, at least two critical issues arising from the unrelenting confrontation remained unresolved: how did the country arrive at such a crossroads, and what has to be done to ensure that it never happens again? *Maclean's* Associate Editor Brian Douglas asked several prominent Canadians what a special interest in aboriginal affairs is common to these worried parties.

### JOHN KIM BELL

Born on the Kahnawake reserve, the recently twinned community near Montreal, Bell, 37, is the first North American Indian to become a professional orchestral conductor. Bell has been a guest conductor with London's Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and with the National Youth of Canada. In 1985, Bell founded the Toronto-based Canadian Native Arts Foundation to promote the participation of natives in the arts

through scholarship and grants. His comments: Native people have been ignored. The poverty, alcoholism and other social problems they suffer from have not been addressed, and this younger generation is tired of it. They are saying, "We are 30 years old and we don't want to be it. We are 30. We do have to live like that." I'm really tired. I'm not for violence in any way. And yet, when you see that the real problems and concerns are not being addressed, what do you do?

In the past, government paternalism has been a big problem, taking away the right of native people to decide their own future. Now, the latest approach is self-help. But look at our arts legislation. Big business endorses us. We've gone out about \$400,000 in grants and scholarships to kids. But while everyone will pat you on the head and say you're doing the right thing, the federal government, in 22 years, has not contributed significant dollars. They just look at us blankly and say, "It doesn't say in the policy that this is what Indians

should be doing." In their view, Indians are not journalists and ballet dancers and arts administrators. In the end, for them to change the policy is a bureaucratic nightmare.

I think our native leaders will have to become more unified, and there is going to have to be some cultural evolution. The Indians negotiate everything by 100 per cent consensus. Well, we don't do that in Western society. They are going to have to resort to some different kind of management if they hope to have authority.

### STEPHEN KARPIW

Born in the Muskowke Valley community of First Good River, Karpis, 40, served as *Grand Chief of the Ojibwa Nation* from 1982 to 1987. He was first elected to the Northwest Territories legislative assembly in 1987. Karpis is currently the minister of education and minister of aboriginal rights and constitutional development in the Northwest Territories—the only government in Canada in which the majority of representatives are natives. His comments:

Historically, over the native people of Canada began to lose their political and military power, Europeans basically set them aside. A lot of our Indian leaders are saying to non-natives that you have a history of lying and it's all your laws and your lands and that we natives are inferior to you as people.

So now, after 200 years in which the federal government refused to act, a bunch of Quebecers say they will take what little land the Mohawks still have and turn it into a golf course. People have to defend what little they have. You try to take the farm away from the family for some staged dance, and of course they are going to react violently.

Some of us speak all of our time preaching about rights and changing their constitutions takes us that our right to self-government will be recognized. But here in the North, we are learning to take responsibility over our own affairs. Recently, we set up boards of education in most First Nations communities. We're trained over the money and they run the schools and hire the teachers. That's an example of self-government. And some native people were reluctant to do it, saying they weren't ready. But my attitude is that it's like swimming: you've got to jump in the God damned pool to learn anything.

The Canadian government has to set up a forum. People have to start talking to each other in Quebec, it's going to take a long time for the Mohawks and the people of Châteauguay to heal their wounds. But how well they do that—and how much the personal and institutional governments suggest that effort—will show us, on a small scale, how we can do that across Canada.

### MAXWELL YALDEN

Born in Toronto, Yalden, 60, is the chief commissioner of the Ottawa-based Canadian Phoenix Flight Commission. "If there is any single story on which Canada cannot hold its

head high in the international community," says Yalden in his latest annual report, released in March, "it is in the story of aboriginal relations." His comments:

Broken promises, paternalism and authoritarianism are the three main factors in the frustration that has built up over the years. Always having to follow the rules set by the Indian Affairs department, natives must have felt increasingly that this was a game of cards in which the deck was stacked against them.

It is paradoxical that federal authorities spend billions of dollars a year aimed at improving the health and well-being of the native population and yet their conditions remain poor and their prospects dim. They are saying, "Give us a land base and the federal resources you owe us, and we will run our own affairs." Well, we certainly haven't done a satisfactory job, so we should take up their challenge.

The most pressing need is a political commitment at the highest government levels that will commit native people that they are really going to have a new deal and a going to be a fair game. That's why we've been proposing for two years a royal commission on aboriginal rights along the lines of the one on bilingualism and multiculturalism. But it must be supported by native people and have people of mixed blood sitting on it. And there must be a real commitment from the government to act on the commission's recommendations.

As demonstrated once more in Quebec, the relationship between police and natives in this country is scientific. There have to be more about people in police service. And we can't keep having a police system where, when someone is threatened away from where we are in charge with a crime, it's brought out and sent to a place. It's never been before, in a language, but I've been underlined, following a ritual that to him is as mysterious as the love of an Egyptian goddess.

### MARKLENE BRANT CASTELLANO

Born and raised on the Two-Design Mohawk reserve near Ontario's Bay of Quinte, Castellano, 55, is currently the chairwoman of the native studies department at Trent University in Peterborough. Her comments:

Canadian governments have treated aboriginal people as an administrative problem. The federal government has



Castellano: "The government has to take the lead."

strategies have varied from apathy, to delegating responsibility to the Church, to assimilation. But, in the past 20 years, there has been a revolution in the consciousness of aboriginal people. We know we have a tradition and a future, and that is more than being discriminated white people.

The federal government has to take the lead



Yalden: "a game of cards with the deck stacked against them"

in acknowledging that aboriginal people are unique and that we have the right to relate to the Canadian state in a unique fashion. I think that many Mohawks, including myself, are not sure what the boundaries of our political rights are—all which rights are negotiable and non-negotiable. But I don't think anyone is what we're talking about. Look, Mohawks have aggressively changed nation-to-nation status since Confederation. But that hasn't prevented us from fighting with and for Canada in two world wars.

### KATHLEEN YALDEN

Born and raised in the Algonquin community of Stobell in northern Saskatchewan, Yalden, 55, is a professor of English at the University of Alberta. While an activist over many years, most of them based on Canadian history. He was a Governor General's Award for his 1983 novel, *The Treachery of Big Bear*, based on the Cree chief who was imprisoned for leading armed resistance to the natives on the Prairies in 1885. His comments:

What's happening now reminds me a lot of what happened in 1870: the Red River Rebellion and 1885: the North-West Rebellion in the West. John A. Macdonald followed the same tactics as Midway. Native people were complaining, but he did nothing and finally the people became computerized Indian skin. Then, he sent in the army. It seems to me to be the ultimate education of a bankrupt policy when you send in the army against your own people.

You know, Mississauga are traditionally pacifists, and I did not like that. It's not right to kill. But there are plenty of people killing people, and one of them is my neighbor.

I think we've just been caught on the idea of a calm and beautiful Canada. We think the big problem facing us is the weather, for God's sake. We really seriously have to get the poverty and the broken promises and the message that native people feel at the top of our political agenda. And we can't put slightly better money money in their pockets. It's not a matter of money after a certain point.

I think we're going to go through some of the same kind of what happened with the civil rights movement in the United States. But as the native people show us that they have been unjustly treated, I have faith that the majority of Canadians will understand and respond. It's not going to be a

# DESPERATE DIPLOMACY

Unrated Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar was in Jordan talking to Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. Jordan's King Hussein was in London talking to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Thirteen foreign ministers of the 23-member Arab League were in Cairo, also talking. U.S. President George Bush and Soviet counterpart Mikhail Gorbachev arranged a Sept. 10 summit meeting in Helsinki. But, for all that, the Persian Gulf crisis seemed at week's end to be as far from peaceful resolution as at any time since Iraqi troops stormed into neighboring Kuwait on Aug. 5. Iraq President Saddam Hussein had apparently closed off all options for compromise by insisting that he would never surrender Kuwait, which he formally declared Iraq's

## CANADIANS JOINED IN AN EXODUS FROM THE DANGER ZONE IN THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS

The airlift began, after anguished doubts and delays, following a decision by Saddam Hussein to let women and children, but not men, leave

his beleaguered nation. Two dozen Italians were the first to fly out; then 60 Japanese, next, two flights in Iraqi and West German airliners bearing more than 600 Europeans and Americans and about a dozen Canadians. But the dangers to hundreds of hostages left behind, including women and children waiting for flights, caused acute concern in Western capitals. Officials in the external affairs department relayed their estimate of trapped Canadians downward—to 275 in Kuwait and 175 in Iraq, including about 150 women and children in Kuwait and 25 in Iraq.

As well, hundreds of thousands of Asian and Arab guest workers were missing at Iraqi borders with Turkey and Iran as a frantic attempt to escape. About 30,000 men were stranded in Jordan, creating a delicate problem of proper proportions. But, in London, Thatcher and that hostings would not protect Iraq. Said the British prime minister in a television interview: "I am afraid we would have to face the

the necessary action which we feel will do to stop a defector, even though he still held hostages."

As the midsize U.S. military buildup continued, thousands of additional troops and the first contingents of main battle tanks added to the formidable land force already deployed under

Operation Desert Shield (page 32). Said Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Gulf: "Every day, I feel less threatened because we get stronger and stronger. If the Iraqis are dumb enough to attack, they will pay a terrible price." In the United States, a poll by The Los Angeles Times showed that nearly 75 per cent of respondents support Bush's decision to send troops to the Gulf, but more than half of those interviewed expressed concern that Washington could become "bogged down in another Vietnam" (page 30).

At the Royal Palace in Amman last Friday, de Cuellar held two appreciative handfuls of talks with Foreign Minister Amr al-Khateeb. de Cuellar had arrived in the Jordanian capital stressing that he had no authority to offer concessions, and that he could only urge Iraq to obey the five tough UN Security Council resolutions passed since the invasion. The council has demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait and allow the restoration of its sovereignty. It has also invalidated Iraq's annexation of the shiikhs, mandated wide-ranging economic sanctions and authorized the use of limited force to stop ships carrying oil going to or from Iraq. "These are not my resolutions," said de Cuellar on arrival in Amman. "I cannot make any concessions on these." Aziz arrived in a clearly defiant mood, declaring, "Iraq will achieve victory despite the international conspiracy against it." But after the second day of talks, while describing the situation as "difficult" and complicated, he said, "It needs quiet diplomacy and patience."

As Aziz and de Cuellar began their discussions, King Hussein was in London trying to convince Thatcher to support his own peace plan. Under that proposal, Iraqi troops would pull out of Kuwait in return for a withdrawal of U.S. and other foreign troops from Saudi Arabia and other reinforcements by a UN force. Thatcher refused to endorse the plan, insisting, like other Western leaders, that Iraq obey UN resolutions unconditionally.

Jordanian leaders and members of the Arab League have been to a foreign ministers' meeting in Cairo, which showed a renewed demand for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait. Also absent from the



Families of Iraqi diplomats return home from Kuwait. Saddam Hussein (opposite) escape from a Cindocher.

meeting were Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, Yemen, Mauritania and the PLO. But ministers Amr al-Khateeb transferred a united opposition to the Iraqi position. Those countries included Egypt, Syria and Morocco, all of which have sent troops to the Gulf, at address in Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf states. Envoys from Libya attended the Cairo meeting, and later expressed a peace plan similar to Jordan's. Meanwhile, Bush arranged his meeting with Gorbachev to discuss the Gulf crisis and other matters. He continued his frequently interrupted vacation at Kinnelburg, Me., where he

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played host to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and family. Before leaving, Mulroney publicly praised the President's "unwavering achievement" in forging a worldwide consensus on the Gulf issue. Later in the week, Bush asked for help from his allies in covering the enormous costs of conducting Iraq. He announced that he would send Secretary of State James Baker and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady on fund-raising missions to West Germany, the Gulf states and Japan. Said Bush: "We are more than ready to bear our fair share of the burden, but we also expect others to bear their fair share."

Baker and Brady are seeking pledges of up to \$95 billion to help pay for Operation Desert Shield and compensate such countries as Jordan, Egypt and Turkey that are suffering economic hardship by applying sanctions against Iraq. A Pentagon spokesman had earlier estimated the cost of U.S. military operations in the Gulf at nearly \$3 billion by the end of September.

Officials in Washington were clearly encouraged by a decision last week by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to allow its members to pump more oil. That OPEC decision was likely to lead to the production of an additional four million barrels a day, making up for almost all of the embargoed Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil.

Meanwhile, foreign women and children, the wives and offspring of many British and American hostages held at strategic locations around Iraq, were waiting for news to be able to leave. One British woman, who declined to give her name, reflected that the children were sick with dysentery, she said, and "we can't get much food into them."

Added the woman: "I plan to let the children in all we can. That's not too much to ask, isn't it?" As week's end, such pleas began to be answered. But, for thousands of people—diplomats, lawyers and tourists alike—the looming question of how to be released remained an urgent danger.

JONN BIERMAN with JULY MACKENZIE in Saudi Arabia. KATY EYAN in Dubai and E. KATY FOLTON in Kuwait.

## World Notes

### CAMBODIAN PEACE PLAN

In a potentially major breakthrough, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France, agreed on a political plan designed to bring peace to war-torn Cambodia. The proposal called for a UN supervised ceasefire and arms power-sharing between the Vietnamese installed government in Phnom Penh and a three-party rebel coalition until free elections can be held. All four parties included in the Government of National Unity, whose traps of terror in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 caused about one million deaths—expressed interest in the plan.

### TENSION IN ARMENIA

About 350 members of the newly formed Armenian National Front extended their weapons after the southern Soviet republic's parliament declared a state of emergency and troops surrounded the minority's headquarters in the capital, Yerevan. Meanwhile, growing ethnic violence has led Moscow to deploy troops along the border of neighboring Azerbaijan. Armenian nationalists have been waging a two-year fight for control over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan, a mostly Armenian enclave.

### DEADLY WINDS

Powerful tornadoes whipped through Painesville, Ill., southwest of Chicago, killing at least 26 people and injuring more than 350. The twisters also destroyed at least 1,500 residential units and 26 houses. Gov. James Thompson and President George Bush declared Painesville a disaster area, making it eligible for state and federal financial aid.

### BRISKING DOWN BARBERS

In what he called an "important step forward on the road to a new, just South Africa," President F. W. de Klerk said his white National Party in power since 1948, is open its membership to blacks. Officials said that it was almost certain that the party's few pro-social conservatives would approve de Klerk's historic proposal, although it could take up to a year to implement.

### A GERMAN TREATY

German leaders agreed a treaty to reconcile their legal and constitutional differences before early in Oct. 3. In part, the 900-page accord preserves that Germany's liberal statute law until an all-German parliament creates new legislation, calls for a united Berlin to be the capital of the country and sets out a national social program for problem East Germans.

19th province. The only bright note came at the weekend with an international airlift from Baghdad of hundreds of Western and Japanese women, children and young adults, including Canadians, who had been held in Kuwait and Iraq as part of a human shield against attack.





American soldiers training in Saudi Arabia: wind, sand and intense heat

## SAUDI ARABIA

## Standoff in the desert

*U.S. troops dig in for a long conflict*

**T**he blistering, 47° C heat, American servicemen found, and sweated while awaiting their turn to use the \$6-million sports complex on a military base in Saudi Arabia's eastern provinces. "We're just dying for the air conditioning," said one overwhelmed marine. Elsewhere on the sprawling base, Special Forces paratroopers unloaded 1400 heavy mailbags, each weighing 46 pounds, before packing 380 bags for the return trip to the United States. Anticipating heavier workloads as the troops settled in, Carries said "They tell us we'll be here six to 12 months!" For the thousands of U.S. servicemen in Saudi Arabia, many of whom arrived wearing gaudy camouflage for a swift and decisive strike against Iraq, the more likely prospect of a long, tedious desert standoff was beginning to make an impact. Just how tedious was evident at the late P.M. although many of the postal shelves had already been stripped of their backdrops, shaving cream and junk food, the new brands of condense remained could—against testimony to another reality of a foreign soldier's life in conservatism, Islamic Saudi Arabia.

As President George Bush and Iraqi Pres-

ident Saddam Hussein played out their war of nerves and TV appearances, war would be mediators sought a diplomatic solution to the Persian Gulf crisis, the likelihood of an immediate armed conflict appeared to recede. And some of the American military brasses, screwed up by a T-shirt that boasts, "Mecrowen: Never Die. They Just Go To Hell To Regroup," seemed to fade along with it. Amid the largest buildup of U.S. forces since the Vietnam War, an estimated 108,000 American servicemen by week's end, air strikes, 27-year-old Sgt. Shamel Bledsoe, wrote a poem called "The Saudi Blues." It says in part:

*The day I arrived, I thought this isn't bad.  
But as time went by, I began to feel sad.*

Lamenting the heat, the loneliness and the long days of work, Bledsoe concludes:

*I guess you can see it's no big news.  
All I have is the Saudi Blues.*

There is certainly ample reason for that feeling. Many of the troops pulling off the C-5

Galaxy transport planes and the civilian aircraft, listing mutilated green jet logs tightly packed with supplies, end up in tent cities that have mushroomed around the country in the eastern provinces, wind, sand and especially the intense heat have stretched the resources of the 50-bed field hospital, as the 15 doctors stand to cases of dehydration, heat stress and rashes. Troopers have fared as well, spared in part by the Spartans, overcrowded, long conditions. And although Bush exhorted the troops in a radio broadcast last Thursday, describing America's "over-eager" but, now decided resolutely, "be gone no indication of how long it would have to stay deployed.

And still the men and machines kept coming. At the strategic nerve center of Operation Desert Shield (the Pentagon keeps reporters from revealing exact locations), American aeromobility work 36-hour shifts with four hours off to unload the large-bellied green aircraft. Out come armored tanks, Apache helicopters, electronically guided Patriot missiles and anti-aircraft Gatling guns. Further north at a coastal port, a U.S. combat support ship dumps fuel, food, five-ton cargo trucks and massive flatbed trailers. The operation, which has tested the U.S. military staff and airlift capabilities, has also stretched the resources of the host country. To accommodate the swelling American presence, Saudi troops have evacuated army barracks and airfields, moving closer to the front line with Iraq. The Saudis have also supplied hot meals to the American troops and the U.S. army halls are built. Said Maj. Gen. William Pappas, deputy commanding general for the massive deployment: "Does the United States would have a hard time accommodating the amount of soldiers we've dumped here."

At the field hospital, with an folding surgery, medical and laboratory tents, talk among the soldiers turned often to home. "It's been an adventure," said Air Force technician Joel Kauter. "But we'll be glad to go." Close by, in the air evacuation tents, one of the had more immediate concerns: "We need more toilet paper and more food." But even as the mail started to flow, the military limited the size of the packages. That, said Senior Airman Michelle Argente, 21, an ammunition loader, "means no more cookies from Mom."

The servicemen were facing special problems. Argente, sitting outside a steel-reinforced bunker that houses the best-looking Side-winder and radar-guided Sparrow missiles that arm the F-15 fighter planes, complained of culture shock in a Muslim land. She cannot mix with the men in the gym, swim with them in the

SONJA HENIE ST. MORITZ 1992



You don't change things forever with the same old song and dance.

**WHEN SONJA HENIE** stepped onto the ice at the 1928 Olympic Games, few guessed she would change figure skating forever.

But then, she did something no Olympic skater had ever done before. She included ballet in her routine, performing the "Dying Swan" sequence from Tchaikovsky's "Swan Lake."

She captured the gold medal with her innovative performance. And, since that day, dance has been part of virtually every competitive figure skating performance.

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U.S. tanks on manoeuvres; Iranian soldier (below): 'It's a one-shot deal, but we have some awesome firepower'

pool, or pay for supplies himself at the P.O. And he has to adhere to a strict dress code—long sleeves and a hat—and never leave the base. "Being over here is very frustrating," said Angilante, a native of Long Beach, Calif. "The first night, it was real scary—they said the attack was imminent. But now it's just gotten monotonous. You work a 12-hour shift, eat your M&Ms [m&ms ready to eat], go to the gym, write a letter and go to bed." The most disconcerting part, she said, is not knowing how long she will stay. "It's a waiting game," she said. "We're in limbo."

Still, some of the Americans were clearly enjoying the experience, especially the chance to operate sophisticated equipment under battlefield conditions. Lt. Col. Greg Richardson, 40, checked his F-15 fighter after his ground crew hauled it out of a hangar to a nearby airbase, mired in sand dunes. He was about to leave on a four-hour reconnaissance mission, patrolling south of the Kuwaiti border in search of enemy aircraft, and he playfully warned the prospect of locking his radar onto a Russian-made MiG-29 Fulcrum, the most sophisticated aircraft that the Iraqi fly. "This bears training at home," Richardson said. "It's pretty tough to simulate the fact that any minute somebody might be shooting at you. It injects a very sobering reality."



Scorning comparisons with the popular movie *Top Gun*, Richardson said: "This is 90 percent more exciting and more lethal. This is the ultimate. Other than lying through an air hose where you get five kills in one mission, it doesn't get any better." With the fighter's

hatch lowered, the ground crew did the last-minute checks, pulled the safety pins and yellow markers from the array of weapons and gave the signal. Ten minutes after the engines started up, Richardson's plane taxied down the runway, blasting the ground crew with exhaust before making a smooth, deafening takeoff.

On another site, surrounded by concrete walls with razor-wire berms, Capt. Joe de Arco, 38, from Brandon, Penn., stood guard over a battery of Patriot missiles. Designed to destroy hostile aircraft and missiles, they have never been tested in war. "Here, everything is a real threat," said de Arco. "It's a one-shot deal, but we have some awesome firepower." Of course, the desert has some firepower of its own. Under a green tarpaulin tent, covered with a chemically treated camouflage net to diffuse radar detection, the soldiers sleeping on cots have to deal with venous black crows and seven-inch scorpions that sometimes curl up in empty boots at night. "You just have to remember to shake your boots out in the morning," said de Arco.

Back at the nerve centre of Operation Desert Shield, U.S. military planners wrestle with an outdated blueprint for war that identifies the Soviet Union as the enemy and a nuclear attack as a likely threat. Confronting a different foe, on unfamiliar and treacherous terrain, American servicemen also face the daunting fact that there is no end in sight.

**HELMUT MACKENZIE** is the nature columnist of South Africa



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## ARISTOCRAT

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*Automobile Magazine, January 1989*

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*USA Today, June 20, 1989*

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*Motor Trend, August 1989*

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*Motor Trend, August 1989*

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June 26, 1989

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## WORLD



Keet State's new and unsettling sense of kinship with an earlier generation

### THE UNITED STATES

## The legacy of Vietnam

Support for Bush's Gulf policy begins to falter

Above the grassy commons at Ohio's Keet State University, 77 iron mouth-brooks fan out of the wooded hillside like spectral coffins. Beside them, in a one-shipped terrace, a sculptor has carved into the stone a date: May 4, 1970. On that sunny afternoon two decades ago, 24 Ohio carnival guardsmen on the crest of nearby Blakely Hill opened fire with their M-16 semi-automatic rifles on students demonstrating against the escalating Vietnam War. The 13-second fusillade left four people dead and nine wounded; their images enshrined in the collective memory of a national nation. Still, by the time Keet State unveiled the controversial \$236,000 memorial to the shooting on its 20th anniversary last May, a documentary film-maker found most of its 24,000 students conservative and career-oriented, disclaiming any feeling of connection to a tragedy that occurred before many of them were born. But last week, as they returned to class only to find the Persian Gulf conflict swirling already into their lives, many of these suddenly began to express a new and unsettling sense of kinship with that earlier generation.

Rae Lawrence, a fourth-year psychology student, had just said a heartfelt goodbye to her older brother, Dale, whose army unit had left for desert training in California on its way to Saudi Arabia. Saying that she was shocked to

see her disconsolate, talking about never coming back to rejoin her wife and infant son, Lawrence made her way to the May 4 memorial. But she had avoided only four months ago Tim Lawrence, a 21-year-old communications major, had watched a handful of friends vanish from his residence floor 10 days earlier, called

up for military duty by their reserve units. "Before, what was happening in the Middle East was on big deal," Lawrence said. "Now, it's touching our lives. I hope this doesn't turn into another Vietnam."

Across the campus as across the country, the reality of President George Bush's show of military muscle against Iraq President Saddam Hussein has been hitting home, bringing disruption and pain. And although polls show that Bush's support is stronger than for any president since polling began, the first signs of discontent have begun to crack the once-universal veneer of public enthusiasm.

During the past two weeks, scattered protests have erupted across the nation. In Minneapolis, 190 students listened to peace activist Rocky March declare, "We will not kill and we will not die for Exxon, for Gulf petroleum." And in Washington, 290 protesters gathered in Lafayette Square across from the White House to shout, "Hell no, we won't go, we won't die for Texas." That slogan, an extended version of the most celebrated antiwar chant of the Vietnam era, took on new resonance last week as two of that period's best-known leaders, former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg and paralyzed veteran Ron Kovic, author of *Born on the Fourth of July*, re-emerged to criticize U.S. policy at a teach-in at a California church.

The protests so far have focused on what critics say is a fight for greedy U.S. oil interests. But there are already indications of that movement spreading into more mainstream dissent. In Barberton, Ohio, near Keet State,



Cadeca with photos of the slain protesters: 'The Vietnam outcry took years'

Ten McCracken, a 39-year-old musician, six years ago joined the unit of the National Guard that succeeded the local brigade that fired on Kent State students. He did so, he said, because it offered to pay his university tuition. "Basically the money is why I'm in the Guard," he said, "and I'd say 30 per cent of the other guardsmen around here are the same."

McCracken had assumed that he might be called to help out in snowstorms and floods. And, he added, he reveled in his summers and weekends as a cross leader commanding troops in the 107th mixed, cavalry regiment. "It was more like a hobby," he said. "You got to go out and play the game. But now, it's not a game anymore." When the Gulf crisis broke out on Aug. 2, McCracken's troop was amongst its usual combat base in Michigan, not the reality but him that, if he and were called up, his heart would not be in the cause. "I'm 100 per cent pacifistic," he said, "but this is not a cultural issue."

Already, his brother, a banking executive, has offered to buy him a plane full of supplies to evade call-up. But McCracken said that he will not back away from his commitment to the Guard, despite his strong reservations. "Gee," he said. "I'm a soldier. I'd do my duty. But am I really fighting for the United States—or am I fighting for big business?"

And at Pat's Marathon gas station in Kent, right across from Rossco, 23, complained that customers were accusing him about the price of gas, which last week was shown on the pump at \$1.36 a gallon, an increase of 28 cents in a month. "A couple of people got violent," he said. "They're bad-mouthed, the anger of compassion, and you want to say, 'Hey, mister, I just pump the stuff.' But, despite the fact that Rossco has staunchly defended the company's position, he too admitted personal reservations. "I think we have a right to demand oil supplies, but it's pretty scary," he said. "If we do go to war, I'm in the prime drafting age."

So far, the only misgivings that most politicians have expressed concern the oil industry's generous opposition. Two weeks ago, Democratic party Senator Howard Mankowitz of Ohio accused the oil companies of "ripping off customers." Last week, after Bush called 178 congressional leaders to a closed-door briefing at the White House, even Mankowitz, one of the Senate's leading liberals, lauded the case show of unanimity. "Without exception," he said, legislators "indicated

that they supported the President's actions."

In fact, Washington-based conservative syndicated columnist Rowland Evans and Robert Novak last week called that new barbed wire emotional mood a "war fever not seen in the capital since the beginning of the Vietnam War." For Kent State sociology professor Jerry Lewis, a witness to the campus shootings 20 years ago, the initial euphoria over confronting one of the world's most easily duped bullies closely parallels the prelude to the anti-Vietnam War protests. Last month, after Bush announced that he was sending American

troops another two months if you still have thousands of people sitting over there then, and gas prices keep going up, you're going to get a lot of people pissed off." Lewis added that his friends, taken out of school for reserve service, were frightened and said too—their lives are all counted up."

Alan Carlson, a 41-year-old campus organizer and one of those wounded during the Kent State massacre, agrees. "The Vietnam outcry took years," he said. "I don't think it would take as long this time." Carlson's wrist still bears the scar of the bullet that passed through



Janet and Jerry Lewis are Americans really willing to see other Americans die for Kuwait?

troops to the Gulf. Lewis said that he had been frustrated that his summer students seemed so disinterested. "I thought, maybe the old Vietnam pain is over," he said. "Then I realized, nobody is dying yet."

He recalled that it took many years of U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia before antiwar demonstrations erupted to divide the nation. Now, he says that he has already noticed that students whose lives have been touched by reserve duty are beginning to balk.

He added that even his 26-year-old daughter, Janet, is urging him to hold a series of teach-ins to make her and her classmates more aware of what is at stake. "So far, we're just sort of watching a guest movie," he said. "But I don't know if Americans are really willing to see other Americans die for Kuwait." Added Kent student Lawrence, a Bush backer: "I give it

20 years ago. He demonstrated against the memorial when it opened because university officials had scaled it down from a \$1.5-million original design after the local American Legion had denounced it as a monument to "terrorists." And he has made a career out of his Kent State experience as director of the Kent May 4 Center, which encourages student activism.

Now, with the Gulf crisis, Carlson and that he missed a rare opportunity to bring disparate protest groups together with a single focus. Whether he succeeds, and whether the nation once more finds itself at war in a distant and alien land, may yet depend on how closely all parties heed the admonition carved into the tarmac of the Kent State memorial: "Inquire. Learn. Refuse."

NARCI McDONALD at Kent State



# The Florida Ripper

Five students suffer hideous deaths

It was supposed to be a fun-filled week of student regattas and tales of summer adventures. But last week, usually quiet Gainesville, a university town in northern Florida, resembled the set of a horror movie. Within two days, police discovered the ravaged bodies of five students, not men and four small, braced to women, in three separate off-campus apartments. Police said that the crimes looked like a serial killer, or killers, who might strike again. Worried parents pressed the phone lines, and many students fled to their home towns. Those who remained described a community gripped by fear: "Everybody is talking about the murders," said Jessica Acosta, a 24-year-old law student at the University of Florida, as she lived up at a gas shop to buy a revolver for self-protection. "People are looking at each other, it could be anyone," *Addict Acosta:* "I look like the victim."

University officials stepped up security on the campus and urged students to lock their doors and travel in groups. Meanwhile, hun-

dreds of local police, state investigators and FBI agents converged on the town of about 90,000. At a news conference after the killings, Police Chief Weyland Clifton tried to reassure nervous residents. "Minute by minute," he said, "we are getting close to a suspect." And late last week, investigators disclosed that they had interviewed several suspects, including an 18-year-old student who was arrested for allegedly assaulting his grandfather two days after the last victim was discovered. But unconfirmed details about the gruesome nature of the crimes, and false rumors about fresh murders, fueled a growing sense of panic.

Many residents said last week that the killings seemed reminiscent of Theodore Bundy, who confessed to murdering dozens of women, including two sorority sisters at Florida State University in Tallahassee in 1970, before he was executed in the state's electric chair in 1969. "It's another Ted Bundy on the loose," said Jana Walters, 18, a first-year university student from Longwood, Fla. "Some sicko."

The wave of horror began on Aug. 26, after

the worried parents of one of the victims phoned police to say that they had been unable to contact their daughter. When police broke into her apartment near the university, they found the bodies of Sheri Lenton, 18, and her roommate, Christina Powell, 17. The women were severely mutilated and, according to unconfirmed reports, parts of their bodies were missing.

Eight hours later, police made another grisly discovery at an apartment about four kilometers away. There, they discovered the body of Christa Hoyt, 28, a student at nearby Santa Fe Community College who also worked as a clerk at the Alachua County sheriff's department. According to published reports, her breasts had been mutilated and her torso was sliced open. Her severed head was reportedly left on a shelf facing the door. Police would say nothing that the first three victims died from stab wounds and that the bodies had been mutilated.

The next day, police discovered the mutilated bodies of University of Florida students Tracy Jane Paine, 23, and Manuel Taboada, also 23. Alachua County sheriff's spokesman Spencer Mason said that they had shared an apartment near the university but were not apparently romantically involved. Police said that they were not mutilated but suffered "heavy trauma to the body." Neighbors described Taboada as about six feet, four inches tall and weighing about 250 pounds. And, after his death, some female students who had been

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Gainesville student shopping for weapons: panic over a likely serial murderer.

asking male friends to escort them and that they would only go out in groups.

In fact, few students appeared willing to venture far from their apartments last week. "Normally at this time, we'd be out," said a bartender at a restaurant in Gainesville.

"There are only four or five tables here tonight," Gun stores, however, were doing brisk business. At the store where *Acorda* bought a revolver, owner Suzanne Miller said that she usually sells one or two handguns per week. But in the first three days after the killings, she

had sold over 300 handguns and shotguns and had received 100 calls and orders for more guns. "It's mass hysteria," Miller said. Police Chief Clifton warned students against vigilantes, which he said "might lead to more innocent people getting hurt."

Meanwhile, members of an FBI serial-killer team were devising a psychological profile of the killer. And, although they did not discuss their findings, Clifton said that the murderer was likely not a threatened student, but someone who easily stalked his victims and killed "methodically."

Blaise Leysen of St. John's, Nfld., the author of *Shooting Wives: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer*, said that serial killers generally have profound social ambitions, which they are unable to fulfill, and that they take their frustrations out on members of a social group. "University women are classic victims," Leysen added, "because they represent to the killers the quintessence of the upper middle class that they are unable to achieve." Leysen also said that "serial killers keep going indefinitely until they are caught."

Last week, even some local police officers said they were shocked by the killings. "We've got a monster," said Sgt. Richard Demick. "Anyone who has family and friends, wives or daughters, has to be afraid." Until the killer is found, that fear will grow more intense daily.

MARY NEMETH with FRANK ADAMS in Gainesville



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# GETTING THE GST OF IT

There is a new wrinkle at the Olympic Athlete Club in Vancouver, but sales manager Jeffrey Fraser says that less so not how popular it will be with the fitness club's members. That note is collecting the federal government's projected Goods and Services Tax on the portion of club membership that expired into 1991. About 120 of Olympic's members renewed memberships for 1991 before the Sept. 1 deadline to avoid paying the tax, which is scheduled to take effect on Jan. 1. But from now on, Fraser says, the GST will add as much as \$60 to the club's annual dues. As a result, he says that even though it has yet to become law, the GST is perturbing his and many other service industries. "We're not going to put us before their food, houses and cars. When the economy gets bad, we're one of the first things to go."

Fraser is not alone in his concerns—and confusion—over the impact of the GST. Per month, representatives of producers, manufacturers, labor unions and both small and large businesses have denounced the proposed seven-per-cent tax. The Mulroney government introduced the GST legislation in January to replace the 66-year-old manufacturers sales tax (MST), currently 13.5 per cent, which is a regressive tax. The GST is a uniform and universally applied. But the new tax will be levied on the price of services as well as a broader range of goods, including purchases that the federal government has never taxed before, ranging from easily to be taxed to theatre-ticket subscriptions. In April, Mulroney's Conservatives passed the legislation through the Commons, but it is currently being reviewed by the Liberal-dominated Senate. The 13-member standing Senate committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce, chaired by Senator Sidney Bockwold, wound up its controversial hearings on the GST only last week, and it is not expected to table its report for at least

## THE TAX IS SUPPOSED TO BE VISIBLE, BUT BOTH BUSINESS AND CONSUMERS ARE CONFUSED

another month. After that, the bill goes to the full Senate and, if accepted or amended as expected, must return to the Commons for renewed consideration.

Despite that, the government says that it is determined to pass the bill before the year is due to come into force on Jan. 1. If necessary, Mulroney could appoint enough new and extra senators to overcome the Liberal majority. Meanwhile, the government says that the new tax will be made by paid from Sept. 1 on goods and services that will be delivered after Jan. 1, including such sales as season ticket subscriptions, extended warranties on cars and even prepaid funeral. Finance Minister Michael Wilson and Revenue Minister Ose Jelinek, in addition to several private-sector consultants, have advised consumers to pay the GST because they say that the law will be made retroactive wherever it is passed. But David Simpson, executive director of the Ottawa-based Consumers' Association of Canada, said, "There is no basis in law requiring them to do so."

Even businesses are required to collect the tax out of literally billions of sales, as well as consultants who advise them, say that it is already clear that the GST will be an administrative nightmare. And Wilson

travels nationwide. Andy Friedman, a tax partner with the accounting firm of Peat Marwick Thornton & Towers, says that he and his colleagues are "youngling off our feet trying to get information." The legislation passed by the Commons April is about 300 pages long, and a further 250 pages of technical notes, and an expected 60 to 100 sets of regulations are to be released soon.

In addition, until last week, Mulroney had been unable to get any of the provinces to agree to jointly collect and administer their own provincial sales taxes along with the GST. Last week, however, Quebec Finance Minister Gerald D. Levesque announced that the province will bring in its own tax in January, which it will blend with the new federal tax. In a two-stage program, the Quebec sales tax will apply to 1991 to all goods covered by the federal GST, with most services remaining exempt until 1992. Then, Quebec's proposed seven-per-cent provincial GST will replace the current Quebec retail sales tax of nine per cent.

For consumers, blending provincial laws with the new federal tax scheme not only greatly increases costs at the cash register, but also broadens the range of goods and services on which provincial taxes must be paid. That will erode provincial tax revenues. And Wilson warns once provinces to harmonize their sales taxes with the GST in order to reduce the burden of administering the new federal tax. Otherwise, Ottawa's ability to collect other

taxes will almost certainly be reduced. According to a 58-page report that reviewed how effectively Revenue Canada collects tax cheques, which top departmental officials completed in April, 1989, after a year of study, giant corporations already find it easy to avoid paying their full share of Canadian taxes. The officials wrote, "Very large corporations retain highly paid advisers to ensure that they pay as little tax as possible, either by arranging their business in favorable ways or by challenging every grey area of law that could be to their benefit."

The report says that administering the GST from Ottawa will require experts in accounting, law and management, and predicts that it will draw staff away from the enforcement of savings income tax laws. The report, which says that Revenue Canada "already faces severe competition for skilled audit resources in major urban areas," adds that "the implementation of the GST may worsen the competition for experienced auditors and accountants."

For some consumers, the confusion has already begun to set in. According to Simpson, some retailers are already taking advantage of that confusion. He said that many stores have posted signs urging customers to buy before the end of the year to "Beat the GST," even though on many taxes, including furniture, the GST will replace the higher HST. Jack Simpson

"These are areas where we should see some reductions."

But, many consumers say that they are skeptical about whether they will actually see any price reductions when the GST replaces the MST. In fact, consumers who had hoped to save money by paying for their annual cable television service for 1991 ahead of time have already become disappointed. Revenue Canada has instructed cable TV operators to keep charging their customers the 13-per-cent federal telecommunications tax, which the GST will also replace, until the year becomes law. Then, the cable companies could issue a four-per-cent credit on their customers' bills. A Revenue Canada spokesman said that there was no double standard in allowing that treatment, while at the same time requiring other businesses to collect the GST before it becomes law. The spokesman noted that there already is an applicable tax on cable, but not on those other services.

The three major North American car manufacturers say that they will encourage their dealers to give consumers the full benefit of savings that result from replacing the manufacturers tax with the GST. In hearings before the Commons consumer and corporate affairs committee last spring, spokesmen for General Motors of Canada Ltd., Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. and Chrysler Canada Ltd. and their

## Business Notes

### A SLUMP SIGNAL

After seven years of almost uninterrupted economic growth, Canada's gross domestic product fell by 0.6 per cent in the second quarter of 1990 compared with the first three months, Statistics Canada reported. That triggered a 0.75-cent decline in the dollar's exchange rate to 66.43 cents (U.S.) on Aug. 31. Until the current third quarter's GDI is calculated, however, many economists are withholding judgment on whether Canada now is in a recession, which they define as two straight quarters of declines.

### CAMPBELL LOAN WRITED

The National Bank of Canada announced that it is writing off \$30 million in loans to financier Robert Campea. Campea, named as chairman of Toronto-based Campea Corp. last month, failed to repay the loans after an unsuccessful bid to acquire majority control of the company. The bank reported that profit for its third quarter ended July 31 fell by 66 per cent, to \$22 million, compared with the same period last year.

### BANKS CUT LENDING RATES

The Bank of Montreal cut its benchmark prime lending rate to 14 per cent from 14.25 per cent, the second drop in two weeks from the 14.75 per cent rate that had prevailed since April. The rate that the Bank of Canada charges on loans to commercial banks fell to 13.00 per cent, the 10th successive weekly decline. "If we see continuing easing in pressures on inflation," said Finance Minister Michael Wilson, "certainly we will see some further easing in interest rates."

### AIR-CANADA DEAL

Air Canada has signed a deal, reportedly worth several million dollars, with troubled U.S. financier Donald Trump's airline to lease space at the Trump terminal in New York City's La Guardia airport. The arrangement gives Air Canada's passengers more direct access to Washington via the Trump Shuttle's hourly flights to the U.S. capital.

### MEXICAN FREE TRADE

Canada's international trade minister, John Crosbie, says Ottawa will decide in two weeks whether to join U.S.-Mexico free trade talks. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who discussed that possibility during a meeting with President George Bush, was uncomfortable afterwards, but Ottawa officials say Canada is being pressured by business executives and the other two governments to join the discussions.



Bockwold: re-examination



Aerobics exercisers in Toronto THCA advance taxes on 1991 fitness fees



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## BUSINESS

The proposed tax change will trim suggested retail prices by an average of four per cent—excluding any price increases in the interim. That would mean that a 1991 Pontiac Grand Prix, which now costs \$20,945, would cost \$19,366 after Jan. 1—a saving of \$1,579, excluding provincial sales tax.

Still, some analysts, and even some auto industry executives, privately question whether an industry that has seen new car and truck sales decline by 8.5 per cent from January to June will risk an even worse slump in the final months of 1990 by premiering GGT services in January. However, they predict that the automakers and their dealers will offer such special incentives as cash rebates that equal the expected savings. Melville Blasse, for one, a senior consultant with Livingston International Inc., a customs brokerage firm in Ottawa, says that he does not foresee a sudden flurry of consumer buying because "it is difficult to tell if prices will go up or down."

Indeed, some store owners found consumers to be generally apathetic about the GGT. Robert Lortrey, owner of Toronto-based Robert Lortrey's Piano Experts, and that he sent a letter to the GGT asking to list their name on 10,000 customers last spring promising advance payment for future piano-tuning services. But the response was less than he had hoped for. "We've had a good one, but it's not the 20 per cent of our [customers] list that I predicted, but more like 11 or 12 per cent." The advertisement said that \$30 would be moved as payment for tuning in 1991 if payment was made before Sept. 1, but Lortrey said that the savings available from his and similar GGT promotions are not enough to spur a great number of consumers.

For their part, federal finance directors say that they have found few consumers willing to pay in advance to avoid the new tax. However, which cost an average of \$3,300. Paul O'Connor, founder of Paul O'Connor Financial Group in suburban Toronto, and that there was a slight increase in the number of payments for January before Sept. 1. But he added, "It is hard to tell whether it is the tax." Consumers were also eligible to escape the GGT by paying for cancelled warranties before Sept. 1 on such items as cars, electronics and refrigerators. Said Anna Ditto, sales manager at Toronto Pontiac Buick dealership in Toronto: "The

majority of people who are buying extended warranties have agreed to pay now instead of waiting." Still, said Ditto, that majority is only a "trickle."

As well, for the first time, the GGT will require charities to collect taxes. As a result, Edward Gorman, director of research and consulting at the United Way of Greater Toronto, says, "The GGT will increase operating expenses significantly." Under the legislation, charities will have to charge tax on such services as meals, special events or fitness programs, if those services compete with the private sector. But they will be exempt if the project or service has annual sales under \$30,000 or if volunteers carry out 90 per cent of the day-to-day work. "How exactly do you determine that?" Gorman asked.

Charities will also have to pay the GGT on a wide range of office, supplies and services. "Charities get back a 50-per-cent rebate, but we still end up paying a lot of money," said Gorman. But perhaps the most pressing concern for charities is what the GGT will do to the general climate for charitable giving. Said Gorman: "Charitable donations are tax-exempt, but if people are spending their money on the tax elsewhere, they have less disposable income."

Analysts also predict that the GGT will cause widespread confusion among consumers be-

cause the GGT legislation leaves it up to each store to determine how it will post notices of the tax. According to the Consumers' Association of Canada, that means some stores may include the tax in their listed prices, and others will add it on at the cash register. That will make it virtually impossible for consumers to compare prices, said Simpson. "When you get two prices of confusion, it leads to confusion in the marketplace," he added. "There will be a lot of price inflation because of tax confusion." Last week, the association asked the Senate committee to delay passing the GGT legislation until the issue can be clarified.

Mel Potvin, vice-president of the Toronto-based Retail Council of Canada, said that the majority of large stores, at least, have promised to add the GGT to the cash register, making it clearly visible to consumers. Declared Potvin: "Everybody feels strongly that it's useful for people to know they are paying the government officers." He said that adding the GGT at



Worried consumers should pay

## BUSINESS

the cash register is unclear. If prices or the GGT doesn't start to change, the cash register will simply have to make changes of the check-out, rather than on every item in the store.

The pricing issue is further complicated by differing plans among the provinces on how they will require merchants to apply both the GGT and their own retail sales tax, and which are levied by all provinces except Alberta. While Quebec plans to combine the two taxes, which by 1992 will amount to 14 per cent, others have devised different provisions. Retail Council and Manitoba will require retailers to apply the GGT and their provincial sales tax separately on the retail price. The rest have indicated that they will require merchants to compound the tax.

Charging the provincial sales tax on top of the GGT. Applying the two per cent GGT and an eight per cent provincial sales tax separately on a \$100 item means that the buyer would pay a total of \$135. Compounding the same two rates of tax on \$100—a 14 per cent, leaving a \$114—would make the final price \$131.50. But Statistics Canada, the federal agency that monitors what goes on in the economy, said last week that it can only measure what impact the GGT will have on consumers' pockets after the tax is introduced.

Apart from charging a cashiers tax on tax, said John Bullock, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB), compounding will place a special hardship on small businesses. "Many cash registers are not designed for compounding," he said. As a result, merchants in that situation will have to include the GGT in their listed prices, making their prices appear higher than at stores where it is added at the cash register. Bullock also argued that taxes need to be harmonized as they are in Germany, where the federal and state governments target the same goods and services from taxes. Canada, by contrast, is a complicated jumble of clashing jurisdictions in which the lists of taxable items vary among provinces and may also differ from the GGT law. Unless they are harmonized, Bullock predicted, "you will have an unbelievable compliance nightmare."

Many consumers take a similar position. Howard Petrick, managing director of the private, Toronto-based Retail and Financial Consulting Services Inc., said that large businesses have the resources and personnel to plan for administering the GGT. "The small businesses have not yet made the psychological adjustment to the tax, let alone start planning for it," said Petrick.

In Alberta, where merchants have never had to deal with a sales tax at the cash register, some of them will end up paying the GGT



Sound-system shopper, salesman hard to tell where prices will go

themselves, said Douglas Wright, an Edmonton-based spokesman for the CFT. Said Wright: "The federal government is grossly underestimating where it will take business to get used to this. There is going to be a lot of unexpected tax revenue absorbed by businesses that were not on top of the situation." Added Wilford Barbrook, president of the Alberta Chamber of

Commerce: "People always hush about the tax because when they don't live in a province that has a tax, they don't understand."

Even among large, nationwide retailers where plans and under way for implementing the GGT, one point problem remains—the actual cutback from one tax system to another between the time that business chains on Dec. 31 and opens on Jan. 2. Tony Lenczewski, a GGT implementation co-ordinator for Sears Canada Inc., said that the department store has been planning for the GGT since last October. Still, the 94 Sears retail outlets and more than 1,500 catalogue order offices have not yet worked out how exactly they will handle the cross-over.

Said Lenczewski: "It's a huge undertaking." For many Canadian businesses and consumers are faced with the GGT for goods and services to be delivered next year, that nightmare has already begun.

BARBARA WICKENS with ARIANNE WIGAN  
in Toronto. KERRY DUFFY in Edmonton and  
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# Rewards and punishment

A prominent British businessman faces imprisonment



Saunders leaving courthouse with daughter Joanna and son James 'show trial'

Four years ago, Ernest Saunders was one of Britain's most successful business executives. He had rescued Guinness PLC from almost certain bankruptcy and increased the value of the drink company's stock to more than \$10 billion. For that, he was handsomely rewarded. He lived in a \$10-million country estate, sent his children to school in a Rolls-Royce and hosted the Queen at lavish social functions. But in January, 1987, Saunders was fired in disgrace after police began investigating his role in illegal stock market transactions during a 1986 takeover fight for Distillers Co. p.l.c. That, however, was only the beginning of his fall from grace. In May, 1987, police slipped criminal charges on him. Then, his wife left him, he suffered a nervous breakdown and, impoverished by his legal expenses, he has been living on welfare.

Last week, in a final indignity, the former Guinness chairman was sentenced to five years in prison for conspiracy to commit fraud, theft and false accounting.

In the city, London's square-mile financial district, the sentence was considered especially harsh, particularly because Saunders had already been treated by the Guinness scandal. But like his American business associate Ivan Bosky, who has just finished serving a three-year sentence for insider trading in the United

States, the 54-year-old Saunders had come to symbolize the greed that characterized the takeover mania of the 1980s on both sides of the Atlantic. Guinness, brewer of the famous stout since 1759 and distiller of Bell's Scotch whisky, faced hostile competition from the Anglo Group PLC supermarket chain in its bid for Distillers Co. and its globally marketed products, Johnnie Walker and Dewar's Scotch whiskeys, as well as Gordon's London Dry Gin. As a result, Saunders orchestrated a share-buying campaign to bolster the value of his company's stock offer, which ultimately became worth \$5.9 billion.

In passing sentence at the conclusion of the 107-day trial—one of the longest and most expensive in British history—the judge said that Saunders had been guilty of "dishonesty on a massive scale," by having secretly agreed to pay back dividends for any losses they might suffer in acquiring Guinness shares and by giving up to \$55.4 million in illegal "success fees" to those who helped him out. "When greed is in the saddle," said Crown court judge Denis Henry, "the voice of conscience will not be heard."

Saunders's accomplices also received harsh sentences. Among them was Gerald Baranov, 51, head of the Heron International Group PLC, a property and retailing concern that is Bri-

ain's second-largest private company. Baranov, a noted contributor to charities, was sentenced to a year in jail, fined a record \$11 million and ordered to pay \$974,386 toward prosecution costs. Another accomplice, Anthony Parsons, a 45-year-old stockbroker nicknamed "the Am-er-ral" because of his predatory ways in London's financial community, landed before he was sentenced. When he recovered, he received a 30-month jail term and was ordered to pay the same amount as Baranov for prosecution costs. Sentencing was postponed for a fourth defendant in the case, Sir Iain Jack Lyons, a 74-year-old financier and arts patron, because he was in hospital about to undergo an operation.

According to *The Independent* newspaper, which claimed to have evidence that was not introduced at the trial, Bosky first alerted British authorities to the Saunders stock-promotion operation. At the urging of Baranov, the newspaper said, Bosky spent \$96.8 million to buy up 14 million Guinness shares, in return for which Guinness paid \$100 million also on his arrangement funds. *The Independent* said that Bosky disclosed the deal in an attempt to win leniency from American authorities when his own legal problems broke in 1987, most likely to secure a promise of immunity from prosecution in Britain.

Throughout his trial, Saunders shouted "bullshit" at prosecution witnesses and argued that he was the victim of a massive conspiracy. He said that influential British politicians and business executives led the entire blame for the Guinness debacle at his firm in order to create the impression that it was an isolated case and that corruption was not widespread in London's financial community. During his testimony, Saunders characterized his prosecution as a "classic pre-emptive strike, a back-pushing operation of the most cynical kind."

Indeed, opposition party critics in Parliament said that the case exposed flaws in British financial regulations. And said Michael Campbell, Liberal Democrat trade and industry critic, the case "demonstrated the reputation of the United Kingdom as a financial center."

After last week's sentencing, Saunders's lawyer son, James, 24, said that his father would appeal what he described as a "show trial" and as "an appalling and totally unwarranted" prison term. But Jonathan Guinness, 60, a former Guinness Co. family company, said that "had there not been a guilty verdict, it might have been open house for quite a lot of undesirable practices."

Saunders's appeal may have to wait until after a second trial, scheduled to start early next year, in which he may have three other prominent financiers also being charged arising out of the Distillers Co. takeover. Clearly, for Britain's financial community, the punishment meted out last week served as a stark warning that the courts are now determined to root out corrupt behavior in the business world.

BOLGER JENSEN with JEREMY ADAM  
in London

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**India**  
INDEPENDENT



# To Indians, land is not real estate

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**T**he trouble with Indians is that they insist on seeing the Indians. That means the rest of us who judge their behavior by standards that even begin to approximate their motives or comprehend their tactics.

One of the few social scientists who got as close as any outsider can to understanding the native culture was a University of Chicago anthropologist named Sel. He spent much of his life with North American Indians and, when he had gathered all his research and analyzed the results, came to this startling conclusion: "They seem to be waiting for us to go away."

That's it. Most Indians regard North American whites as temporary visitors to their nation, and not very welcome ones at that. They see themselves as the Paleo-Americans, displaced within their own homeland, forced to live in colonies under the rule of an illegitimate empire of newcomers. The main difference is that they're armed with the archaic-gun instead of rocks.

They are nothing out of the ordinary in demanding recognition of Indian sovereignty over a reserve, region or most of a province. They insist that it's their land—not our real estate—because they never legally gave it up. George Erasmus, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, has fully declared that ownership of half this country is under dispute, including two-thirds of British Columbia.

Even when there is documentation proving that Indians believe in sovereignty, some of the treaty provisions their ancestors signed belong to the low-level backstop of Mel Brooks's *Blazing Saddles*. One agreement negotiated around 1871 by Manitoba Lt. Gov. Sir Adams George Archibald with the Cree, Ojibwa and Ottawa provided that their chiefs and their descendants receive a new suit every three years in perpetuity. As late as 1908, Ottawa Chief David Caruchene accepted as his treaty right a blue serge outfit with red stripes down its trouser legs, complete with brass buttons,

*This country will look like a giant slab of Swiss cheese if native sovereignty claims are accepted*

gold braid and black bowtie hat—all made, incidentally, by the prison tailor shop at Kingston, Ont.

About as that and similar quips of history may be, no one knows exactly how Indian sovereignty would work. One straightforward explanation was offered to *The Ottawa Citizen* last week by Brian Macleod, who comes from the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ont. He said that the Mohawks would turn themselves into an independent nation similar to such small European states as Liechtenstein and Monaco. An agreement could then generate revenue from tourism and the sale of postage stamps and, as a duty-free zone, become a centre for international banking.

Great stuff. But if we accept Indian aspirations for sovereignty and hand back their 2,234 reserves—not to mention satisfying all of their many other land claims—that would create 2,234 *Monacos* across the country, carving huge, irregular holes into the Canada we know and love. It would leave us looking like a giant slab of Swiss cheese.

That kind of airy speculation doesn't help resolve the current impasse, but it does explain why negotiating with the Mohawks has been so difficult: "They demanded what no responsible

government could ever concede: that Canadian laws no longer apply to them and that the Mohawks' community be recognized as a separate nation-state," said Bennett Roy, the chief federal negotiator.

According to the Mohawks, that would include thought to enter into free trade arrangements with other countries, exemption from Canadian personal, corporate and sales taxes and the right to levy tariffs on all goods and services passing through their territory. Since Abenewance is located by the U.S.-Canada boundary and includes a small slice of New York state, recognition of the Indian claims would immediately prompt George Bush to send in a peacekeeping force, with Canada contributing three motorbikes to patrol the St. Lawrence. But at least after-dinner speakers would forever be robbed of anything those upsticking clichés about the world's largest undefended border.

The Indian sovereignty issue is much more than a debating point. It's the survival of a society grown desperate by its inability to give a meaningful place on the national agenda. That, in the end, will be the legacy of Oka. The economic plight and social status of our 466,357 Indians can no longer be ignored. According to the *Assembly of First Nations*, 63 per cent of reserve Indians and 58 per cent of those who have left are on welfare; family income on reserves (at \$10,382 a year) is just over half the Canadian average. Native unemployment rates are running between 75 and 90 per cent, and the suicide of young males is the fastest the whole equivalent. Nearly half of reserve houses still don't have central heating.

Self-government may not care those human atrocities, but the Indians know that it was our government that caused them. They no longer are willing to receive words of the state and will not agree to any deal that treats them like naughty children who can be pacified with lipopops. Still, the prospect for Indian sovereignty has never been bleak. Repeated attempts at federal-provincial conferences since 1984 have failed to produce any agreement to entrench aboriginal self-government in the Constitution. The death of the Meech Lake accord, so fiercely supported by Elton Harper, now means that Quebec isn't coming back to the table and virtually no progress can be achieved towards Indian independence without consensus provincial consent.

Another way to go is for Canadian companies to sponsor joint ventures with Indian bands, using their land base to give them equity participation and viable benefits in future development. George Whittaker, a Victoria-based management consultant, is working with MacLennan Properties, the real estate arm of the Thomson empire, and a local Indian band to build a shopping centre in British Columbia.

The Indian cry for sovereignty means that they want, above all, to preserve their distinct society. Whether this means that they will also opt out of Canada depends on whether we can bring them into the mainstream of the Canadian economy.

The next move is ours.



*DO NOT SEEK TO FOLLOW  
IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE MEN OF OLD;  
SEEK WHAT THEY SOUGHT.*

MATSHO BASHO  
1644-1654

I N F I N I T I .

Thank you.

## PEOPLE

### THE SLOW BOAT TO SUCCESS

When Keri and Anna McGarrigle, the singing sisters from Quebec, are not busy making music, they say that they "do dishes, look after the kids, and every thing." This fall, after an eight-year hiatus, the McGarrigles, who play a unique blend of folk and country traditions, are releasing their sixth album, *Meerbrook's Accelerating*. Said Keri, 46, of their leisurely approach to music: "We're not terribly motivated by success. We don't need to be seen in the best places." Added Anna, 45: "I don't feel like I'm larger than life. I'm just a musician who does dishes."

### A host of riches

On the eve of his 68th birthday (on Aug. 28), John Leach, the television host, writer, and executive producer of television's *Life* series of the *Rich and Famous*, was in Toronto to toast and be toasted at a reception for travel industry executives. While the champagne flowed and the laughter and song-filled crowd leaned on shrimp and caviar, Leach tried to correct what he says is a false impression that his job is not really work. Said Leach: "This is a seven-day-a-week job." He also noted that he does not fraternize with the wealthy people whose spoiled lives are featured on the weekly program. "I'm just the ladder from the basement," Leach said. The host of the program, which is going into its seventh season, said that he does not think that his celebration of the wealthy is cruel or satirical. "Life is pretty mundane for the average person. The show lets them escape into fantasy land," said Leach. He added, "There is nothing wrong with being rich."



Leach: 'Ladder from the basement'



Carpenter: 'everything on anything'

### MAD GLAD RAGS

Fashion designer Kerli Carpenter says that men love her lipstick-print fabrics. And one woman bought a dress with lions printed on it for her wedding. Carpenter's collection features an "Oaps Dress" decorated with playful lions that might be found in a purse, and a dress adorned with Berlin doll accessories. "I like to put everything on anything," said Carpenter, 38. As well, said Carpenter: "I have a print which uses 1970s romance comics. People wear it to a party. Then they phone me up and say, 'You never had as much fun, people need the dress all night.'"

### THE CHOICE IS HERS

Cynda Williams says that she loves singing and acting equally. And the singer, who earlier across debate opposite Oscar-winning actor Denzel Washington in Spike Lee's career film about jazz, *Mr. Butler*, plays both talents in that movie. "Singing is my first love," said Williams, who sang in church as a child. "But now I love doing both of them so much that, if I had to choose, I would never be missing something." However, Williams may not have to make the difficult choice. The 34-year-old Chicago native will play a gaggle's moll in a low-budget movie called *Harlem*. And then she plans to record an album. Said Lee, offering Williams's abilities: "She can sing, she can act, she's going to be a star." Added Williams: "I want to make sure I make the right decision because I want longevity. Maybe after the album, I'll do a musical. Then, I can keep doing both things."

Williams (left), Washington: missing something



### Their money's worth in writing

His novels consistently top best-seller lists, but Sidney Sheldon says that writing them is becoming increasingly difficult. Sheldon, who has just published *Memories of Midnight*, sequel to the 1974 pot-boiler *The Other Side of Midnight*, said, "People are buying the books on the basis of my name." Added the 73-year-old author: "If they're going to put out the money, I want them to be happy with what they get. It's a big responsibility."



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usually homosexual New York neighborhoods on Fridays and Saturdays. The Pink Panthers wear black-and-pink T-shirts and carry water-balloons, whistles and cameras. Members insist they are not vigilantes, and make a point of not responding to verbal insults. "We're not out there to 'take back the streets,'" said Steve Marlowe, a Pink Panther organizer. "But if we're backed, we won't hesitate to back back."

So far, there have been no violent incidents, and members of the Pink Panthers group have cooperated with police. "As long as things don't get out of control," said police Insp. Paul Sanderson, who heads a New York Police Department squad that investigates crimes motivated

by race, religion, ethnic or sexual bias. "What we can't have is each side, with people taking the law into their own hands."

Queer Nation's approach to self-defense has already begun to spread across Canada. Members of Toronto's gay community met last week to organize Canada's first Queer Nation chapter following a sharp increase in the number of attacks on homosexuals in the city. Kyle Rae, executive director of a community center in Toronto's gay district, said that 38 assaults on homosexuals were reported during a nine-week period this summer.

In New York, police officials say that some of Queer Nation's controversial tactics could actually provoke more violence. Sanderson compared the growing number of attacks on homosexuals to assaults on black Americans during the civil rights marches of the 1960s. Said Sanderson: "Any group that suddenly becomes more visible and demands to be treated equally is going to be susceptible to violence. It evokes the feeling in some people that they have to be part of this thing."

In fact, some New York gays say that many police force members are hostile to homosexuals. They claim that when violence broke out during the June Queer Nation march, some officers used unnecessary force to arrest members of the organization. Other gays said that many officers who executed the march grew up with some of the same prejudices as those who attacked the marchers. "We can't assume they have overcome their Brooklyn roots and suddenly put aside their stereotypes for gays," said Jay Binstock, a spokesman for Queer Nation. Binstock added that the spokesperson of Queer Nation's tactics is not to provide confrontation for its own sake. "What we're trying to do," he said, "is to make the streets safe so that people can live their lives in peace." Queer Nation can only hope that hostility does not breed more contempt.

LARRY BLACK is in New York and JAMES MACGON is in Toronto.

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## BEHAVIOR

# A gay backlash

*Queer Nation is waging war on homophobia*

For years, homosexuals who flouted their sexual identity have risked being the victims of reprehensible assaults in the streets of Greenwich Village, the hub of New York City's gay community. But during the past eight months, the number of attacks on homosexual men and women, often by gangs of drunken young men from other parts of the city, has increased dramatically. "It has become a sort of blood sport," said Heidi Dueson, a lesbian who was assaulted last month by a group of adolescent boys. Indeed, New York Police Department statistics record more than 76 incidents—including one murder—so far this year, an increase of more than 150 per cent over 1989. Now, homosexuals activists are fighting back. Since April, a group called Queer Nation has staged mass "kiss-ins," as they term them, at heterosexual bars and demonstrations outside the homes of accused gay-batters. Another group, the Pink Panthers, sponsors late-night patrols of Greenwich Village to protect homosexuals from assaults.

One Queer Nation tactic is to attract media attention to crimes that usually receive scant coverage by New York newspapers and television stations. After the success of the controversial activist group ACT UP, which has skillfully employed civil disobedience to publicize the AIDS crisis, Queer Nation's provocative pro-

tests are aimed at making the local associates and city tabloid newspapers "Tay rags," displayed the front page of the New York Post. In dry after homosexuals and homophobic headlines exchanged blows during a June 18 march that Queer Nation staged to protest violence against homosexuals.

As well, members of Queer Nation, which has an estimated following of 2,000 people, have begun standing prominently between New York bars, including Damien's Red Hand, the White Horse Tavern, McSorley's Old Ale House and Patti's. During a so-called night-out demonstration at Derran's on July 16, about 50 gay men and women entered the bar as small groups and brought drinks, and homosexual couples later began openly kissing. "I got their point," said John Turturro, a bartender at Carmax's, an Italian-American neighborhood bar near Patti's that Queer Nation has not yet invaded. "But I would have kicked them out anyway, just like any straight couple that starting sucking in one of the booths." Said Alan Klein, a 26-year-old television production co-ordinator who helped to launch Queer Nation: "Just being ourselves in these places, where we're not supposed to be, subtly changes their reality."

In a more practical manner, teams of homosexual men and women with martial arts training have begun patrolling many of the predomi-

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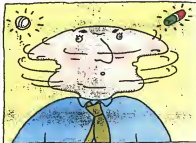
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### INTRODUCTION

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ing that those approved for nonprescription sale are safe when used as directed on the product label.

The following pages examine some of the common ailments which you can help relieve using nonprescription medications, together with some guidelines on sensible self-medication.

But remember that self-medication is far from the complete answer to your health care needs. Nonprescription drugs generally do not cure diseases — they simply alleviate the symptoms of minor illnesses. Complete health care requires a partnership between you and the various health professionals available to you. And always remember to see your doctor if the symptoms you want to ease are severe, or if they persist for more than a week.

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## WHERE DOES IT HURT?

### HEADACHE

**H**EADACHE IS ONE OF THE most common human complaints. Most headaches are not due to any serious disease or disorder. Rather, they are the symptomatic expressions of some minor tension or fatigue resulting from the stresses of the day.

Headaches generally fall into two categories. Tension headaches result from contractions of the scalp and neck muscles, while migraine headaches are caused by the dilation of small blood vessels deep within the brain.

Tension headache is by far the most common type. Its symptoms are usually a feeling of pressure or tightness in the head. Often, the neck and shoulders feel tight and tense. Treatments are known to play a role in easing tension headaches, and relaxation, stress reduction and biofeedback are excellent therapies.

Migraine headaches, which affect up to ten per cent of the population, are characterized by a pulsing sensation in the head. These headaches are often accompanied by nausea, vomiting and an aversion to light and sound. They can be extremely debilitating.

ASA and acetaminophen have been used for decades to treat headache (ibuprofen, a nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory agent (NSAID), a best known as an effective prescription treatment for rheuma-

toid and osteoarthritis, but it is also effective in nonprescription doses against mild to moderate headache pain).

Nonprescription pain relievers may also be useful in treating migraine headaches. But for more severe migraines, your doctor may prescribe a medication that attacks the underlying causes of distressing headache pain.

### BODY ACHES AND PAINS

**R**heumatoid arthritis is a chronic, painful inflammation of the membrane surrounding the body's joints. Osteoarthritis is a wear-and-tear disease that typically affects the joints that bear our weight, such as those in the hip. Like rheumatoid arthritis, it is characterized by the pain and stiffness that result when the joint becomes inflamed.

Both forms of arthritis should be treated by a doctor. Neither type responds well to nonprescription doses of the common anti-inflammatory agents. Your doctor must decide upon the most effective therapy. But often, arthritis patients choose to supplement their prescription medication with a nonprescription pain reliever. Your pharmacist can advise you if this is appropriate in your case, since many doctors discourage overuse of these pain relievers.

Bursitis is an inflammation of the fluid-filled space between tendons, muscles or bony prominences. Unlike arthritis, it does respond to nonprescription pain relievers, as well as to nondrug therapies such as rest and physical therapy.

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SUPPLEMENT

*Severe headaches that persist require a doctor's attention. But the mildest, common headaches of everyday life can be eased by nonprescription pain relievers such as ASA, acetaminophen and ibuprofen.*



## DENTAL PAIN

**D**ental pain is usually caused by inflammation. Fortunately, all these nonprescription pain relievers are effective in soothing it. Acetaminophen both reduces gum swelling and relieves pain, while ibuprofen is more effective on dental pain than ASA.

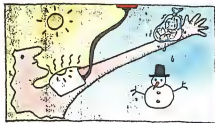
Nonprescription pain relievers must always be considered a temporary measure to ease dental pain, until a dentist can be consulted.

## DYSMENORRHEA

**M**ild to severe pain during the first few days of menstruation is common. It seems to be connected with an increased production of prostaglandins in the endometrium. One form of this condition, called primary dysmenorrhea, has no known medical cause; while another, secondary dysmenorrhea, results from such things as intrauterine devices, pelvic inflammatory disease, endometriosis and fibroids.

Once the secondary causes have been ruled out, dysmenorrhea may be treated with both supportive and drug therapy. Hot water bottles, heating pads and hot baths help control the pain for some women, as does relaxation activities or exercise.

All of the nonprescription pain relievers are helpful in most cases of dysmenorrhea. If these don't provide relief, or if you're unable to take any of them, your physician may recommend other treatments.



## MUSCULOSKELETAL PAIN

**S**trains, sprains, bruises and joint inflammation are common problems which lead people to seek temporary pain relief. Heat can relieve muscle soreness by relaxing the muscles, while cold treatment helps lessen swelling and ease pain in acute injuries.

Pain relievers that are applied directly on the skin fall into two categories. One works by depressing pain receptors in the skin, and the other works as a counter-irritant.

The milder solutions of these topical agents generally act as pain depressors or analgesics, while the stronger ones are counter-irritants.

Counter-irritants actually irritate the skin mildly, causing impulses from the nerve receptors they affect to override the input from pain receptors as they travel through the spinal column and up to the brain.

Topical pain relievers usually contain one or more of these active ingredients: allyl, methocyanate, strong ammonia solution, methyl salicylate, turpentine oil, capsaicin preparation, camphor, menthol, eucalyptus oil and methyl acetate. A common combination is methyl salicylate and camphor or menthol.

Topical analgesics are safe and effective when applied externally on intact skin, but are extremely poisonous if swallowed. Care must be taken to keep these products away from children. Keep in mind that they provide only temporary relief of the symptoms. They don't treat the underlying disease or injury causing the pain. If you experience severe or persistent pain, consult your doctor.

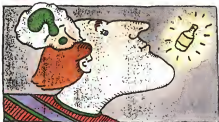
# Nine out of ten doctors\* recommend Tylenol.<sup>®</sup> So why trust your pain relief to anything else?



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**TRUST IT. YOUR DOCTOR DOES.**





## WHICH PAIN RELIEVER IS BEST?

**Don't use ASA without the advice of a physician or pharmacist if you**

- **bruise or bleed easily**
- **have gout**
- **have a history of ulcers**
- **are taking oral diabetic medications or blood thinners**
- **are pregnant**

**A**CETYLSALICYLIC ACID (ASA), acetaminophen and ibuprofen are the three nonprescription oral pain relievers most commonly available in Canada. All three are safe and effective when used as directed. The best one for you depends on the type of pain you have, the possible side effects of the medication, and whether or not you are allergic to any other three pain relievers. If you are unsure about any of these factors, ask your pharmacist or your doctor.

ASA, acetaminophen and ibuprofen relieve both pain and fever. The analgesic effect of ASA and acetaminophen rises as the dose increases, to a maximum of 650 to 1000 milligrams. For ibuprofen-based products, the maximum dose is smaller. ASA and ibuprofen can relieve the inflammation, swelling, stiffness and joint pain of arthritis, rheumatism and other conditions that cause inflammation.

Ibuprofen has been used as a prescription pain reliever for years. Recently a low-dose 200 mg tablet has become available as a nonprescription drug. Studies have shown it to be more effective than ASA for dental pain and dysmenorrhea.

ASA and, to a lesser extent, ibuprofen can irritate your stomach. You can lower the risk of stomach discomfort by taking the medication with water or milk. Enteric-coated preparations lessen the irritation, though they do not act as quickly as non-coated products, since they are not dissolved until they reach the intestine.

Never take ASA for stomach pain. And never take ibuprofen if you have a history of ulcers.

Since Reye's syndrome, a rare but serious illness, has been associated with the use of ASA, never use ASA for fever in children, teenagers and young adults.

### RELIABLE DRUGS

**T**he sale of drugs in Canada is governed by the Health Protection Branch (HPB) of Health and Welfare Canada. Every drug product marketed in this country must be approved by the HPB. Before seeking that approval, a drug manufacturer must submit its products to rigorous laboratory and clinical testing. Only after the HPB has concluded the product is safe and effective is approval granted.

Drugs approved for sale without a prescription not only have to be proven effective, but they are also expected to have a much wider margin of safety than prescription drugs. Federal authorities compare the risks to the benefits for any medication they approve for sale. For nonprescription drugs, the benefit from the use of the drug must far outweigh any potential risks of side effects, misuse or abuse.

While anyone can buy most nonprescription drugs in a drug store, provincial governments may choose to restrict public access to some products, which are generally placed behind the counter. In Ontario, for instance, more than 150 nonprescription drugs are in this restricted area and must be sold by the pharmacist personally. Among them are drug products containing codeine and dextroamphetamine.

## GETTING TO KNOW YOUR MEDICINES

Nonprescription drugs are safe and effective only if used properly. Always read the package label of any drug you plan to use. The label will tell you what the medication is for, how to use it, and when not to use it. Here is the information you will find:

**Strength:** Different formulations may contain different amounts of the active drug. Be sure you know exactly how much is in each tablet or capsule you take.

**Dosage:** The label will tell you how much of the drug to take at one time, and how much you can safely take each day.

**Ingredients:** Many drug products contain more than one active drug. Most also have nonmedicinal ingredients that flavour, colour or improve the chemical stability of the drug. Any that may cause adverse effects should be listed on the label. Ask your pharmacist if you're unsure about any ingredients.

**Expiry Date:** Never take a medication that has reached its expiry date — it can become dangerous.

**Precautions:** Many drugs have side effects you should be aware of. Some antacids, for example, may make you drowsy. Obviously it's important to know that if you plan to drive.

**Contraindications:** Not everyone can take a particular drug. People with ulcers, for instance, should not take ASA. And many drugs aren't recommended for children or pregnant women. Your pharmacist can advise you if you have doubts.

## HOW TO STORE YOUR DRUGS

**M**ost drugs begin to deteriorate in time. Some tablets or capsules can be kept for only one month before deterioration to an inactive or harmful state, while others last for a year or more. Check the label for the expiry date, and for any special instructions about storing the drug. Small amounts of drugs that have expired or deteriorated can be flushed down the toilet. Amounts larger than a few tablets should be returned to the pharmacist for disposal. Also return to your pharmacist any medication with a security seal already broken at the time of purchase.

**Drugs that should be disposed of:**

- **any tablets that are cracked, chipped or discoloured or capsules that have softened, cracked or become stuck together or ASA tablets that smell of vinegar should be disposed of immediately**
- **any liquid medicine that has discoloured, or that smells or looks different from the original product. Never keep a liquid medicine for more than one month after opening it.**
- **any tablet that are hard, lumpy or cracked**
- **any tablet or capsule over about one year old**
- **any medication that requires refrigeration, after two weeks in the refrigerator**

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*There is no cure for the common cold. But there are many pharmaceutical products available that can bring relief to symptoms such as a runny nose or an annoying cough.*

#### NASAL DECONGESTANTS

Nasal decongestants reduce blood flow to the nose, decreasing swelling of the nasal tissues. They come in spray or oral dosage forms.

#### Sprays and topical agents

Sprays and topical agents (which are applied on the body) act faster than oral agents, but the latter may be more effective since they reach all parts of the nose, pharynx and sinuses through the circulatory system. Topical nasal decongestants should not be used longer than three days during a cold — prolonged use of these products can actually make the symptoms worse.

Ephedrine, phenylephrine, naphazoline, oxymetazoline and xylometazoline are all topical agents deemed safe and effective by Health and Welfare Canada in relieving nasal and sinus congestion.

#### Oral dosage

Ephedrine and phenylephrine are also available, and approved, in oral dosage forms. Two other recommended decongestants, phenylpropanolamine and pseudoephedrine, come only in oral form.

#### EXPECTORANTS

The coughing that comes with a cold is often helpful, because it moves secretions and clears up the respiratory tract. Drugs that stimulate the production of more fluid secretions, running the cold through its course, are called expectorants. Health and Welfare Canada has recommended guaifenesin, which is found in a wide range of cough remedies, over other available drugs as an expectorant.

#### ANTITUSSIVES

Antitussives suppress dry, hacking coughs that don't produce fluids. Health and Welfare Canada recommends that, of several drugs that have antitussive effects, only chlorpheniramine, dextromethorphan, codeine and morphine be included in cough remedies.

#### ANTIHISTAMINES

Health and Welfare Canada looked carefully at antihistamines and their role in the common cold, finding evidence that classic antihistamines are effective in battling cold symptoms. These include chlorpheniramine, mizolastine, desloratadine, loratadine and triprolidine hydrochloride.

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New Look Multi-Tar Plus™ now in attractive shatterproof bottle with convenient flip-top cap. Pleasant scented. Fast acting. A medicated shampoo system that's *effective* in controlling stubborn scalp conditions and dandruff. Leaves hair clean and manageable without residue or odours. Gentle enough to use every day.

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# COMBINATIONS

Combination formulations are popular for cough and cold remedies. Indeed, antihistamine-nasal decongestant combinations are among the most popular cold remedies. But it is important to treat only the symptoms you have. Match your symptoms with the active agents that counter them, then select the proper formulation. Your pharmacist can help you choose. Avoid medications containing more active ingredients than you need.

## A WORD ABOUT VITAMIN C...

There is still no evidence supporting Vitamin C effectiveness in preventing or easing cold symptoms. Therefore, the vitamin remains an unrecommended non-medical ingredient in cough and cold remedies.

## VITAMINS AND MINERAL SUPPLEMENTS

**V**itamins and minerals are an essential part of our diet. A deficiency of one or more of these nutrients can lead to a variety of disorders. While the best way to get sufficient vitamins and

minerals is through a balanced diet, vitamin and mineral products do offer a nutritional supplement.

## VITAMINS

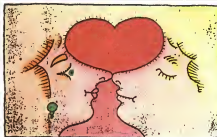
Vitamins are divided into two classes. Water-soluble vitamins include vitamin C and the B vitamins and are not stored by the body, while vitamins A, D, E and K are fat-soluble, meaning they are stored in the liver and fatty tissues.

The water-soluble vitamins should be part of your daily diet, since they are not stored. Particular care should be taken when supplementing your diet with fat-soluble vitamins, which can accumulate in the body. Some adverse effects have also been identified when vitamin C is taken to excess.

## MINERALS

Calcium and iron are the two most common minerals taken as dietary supplements.

Calcium is the major component of bones and teeth. It plays an essential role in blood clotting and neuromuscular function. Calcium supplements are occasionally recommended to prevent osteoporosis in postmenopausal women who are not receiving estrogen therapy.



iron deficiency, which results in anemia, is a common problem in Canada among children, women of childbearing age, and the elderly. Your doctor can tell you if you currently have — or are at risk for — anemia. Iron supplements should be taken with caution, to avoid the adverse effects of an iron overload. Follow the instructions on the label.

Most vitamins and minerals are sold in multivitamin combinations, and these products make a good initial choice. "Megadosing", which refers to daily intakes greater than ten times the recommended daily nutrient intake, can involve significant risks. Consult your pharmacist or doctor before taking megadoses of any vitamin or mineral supplement.

## CONTRACEPTIVES

**C**ontraception practices have varied over the decades. Sexual abstinence, coitus interruptus, and barrier methods were most common until the 1960s. With the advent of oral contraceptives and intrauterine devices (IUDs), use of barrier methods decreased markedly in the 1970s. But times may be changing again.

During the last decade, Canadians have become increasingly concerned about the side effects and safety of the newer contraceptive methods and have been turning to sterilization or returning to barrier methods. Also alternative lifestyles and the risk of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) has made education about condom use a high priority for public health organizations.

Spermicides, condoms and most recently, contraceptive sponges are the barrier

methods available without a prescription at any drug store. Diaphragms, another common barrier method, are also available with a prescription, but are best fitted by a physician.

Spermicides prevent fertilization of the ovum in two ways: an inert base carries the spermicide into the vagina and holds it against the cervix, thereby physically blocking the entrance to the uterus. The spermicide immobilizes or kills sperm on contact. Most spermicidal products lose their effectiveness within one hour, and must be applied 10 to 15 minutes before sexual intercourse.

The condom is the most common barrier method in use and in recent years its popularity has soared in the face of the AIDS threat worldwide; condoms are not only an effective contraceptive device, they are also effective in preventing the spread of sexually-transmitted disease including AIDS. Contraception success rates of more than 99% are possible with condom use, particularly if used with a spermicide.

Condoms are made from latex or from animal membranes. The latter are said to transfer heat better and dull sensations less. However, only the latex membrane condoms protect the user from the AIDS virus. For both types of condom, lubrication with spermicidal jelly, cream or foam is advisable to prevent tearing of the condom during intercourse.

Disposable contraceptive sponges are made with soft polyurethane foam saturated with a spermicide. It exerts its contraceptive effect by acting as a barrier between sperm and the cervix, and by trapping and killing sperm. The sponge has the advantage of being very easy to use and it provides 24 hours of protection after insertion.

*Use of a spermicide preparation only has resulted in success rates of up to 97%. Success can exceed 99% if the spermicide is used in conjunction with other barrier methods such as a condom.*

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# DANDRUFF AND OTHER DRY-SKIN DISORDERS

**D**ry, itchy skin comes in many forms: dandruff, seborrhea, and psoriasis are the most common. Fortunately, all three respond well to therapy, and there is a wide variety of nonprescription drug treatments available.

The causes of these disorders are not well understood. Some researchers believe that, at least for seborrhea, a yeast infection may be a factor. Whatever the cause, affected skin cells tend to die and be replaced at up to seven times the normal rate, leaving the skin with a characteristic dry, scaly appearance.

Seborrhea and dandruff are treated similarly. Topical medications or medicated shampoos will help remove scales and relieve the itching associated with these conditions. Zinc pyrithione or selenium sulfide, agents thought to slow the turnover of skin cells and control yeast infections, are usually the most effective treatments. But agents that soften and loosen dandruff flakes are also useful.

These include products containing salicylic acid, sulfur and resorcinol.

If any medicated shampoo or lotion causes irritation, you should ask your pharmacist to give you a milder one. And if dandruff or seborrhea persist, you should consult your doctor.

The best therapy for psoriasis is prevention. Avoid stress or other environmental factors that cause it to flare up.

Emollients — lotions that moisturize and soothe affected skin — are effective for this disorder and may be combined with a variety of nonprescription drugs. Among them are products containing salicylic acid, urea compounds or coal tar. Anthralin is also an effective agent for reducing the turnover of skin cells in psoriasis, but it should be used with caution since it can irritate normal skin. Psoriasis can be more difficult to treat than either dandruff or seborrhea, so if the symptoms persist, your pharmacist can help you decide if medical attention is warranted.

Inadequate washing and a dry climate tend to aggravate dandruff, while a host of factors including stress, trauma, climate, and drugs can worsen seborrhea or psoriasis.



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quality so high in resolution, it compares to professional printing. This surprisingly affordable copier, which also copiers in black and white, can even manipulate images an infinite number of ways — all on plain paper. The telling result is that the CLC 200 is going to change the way business does business.

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example. To find out what this affordable, state-of-the-art copier can do for your business, or to arrange for a demonstration, contact your nearest Canon copier dealer, or call toll-free 1-800-387-1241.



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## A TROUBLED ROMANTIC EXORCISED DEMONS IN A FOREIGN REVOLUTION

betrayed Betheune during the Spanish Civil War by advising Communist party officials to send him back to Canada. Sutherland also said that Allan once claimed to have written Betheune's public dispatch from China, the noisy "Washed," and begged to him at the early 1970s that he once had an affair with Betheune's

really chilling," said Allan. "The man has gone off his head. Apparently, he thinks he's Betheune."

Although their marriage of convenience was destined for a stormy divorce, Allan and Sutherland needed each other to realize their common dream making the movie. Allan owed



Trudhoe, once Justin (left) and Sachse nervous, tears and a dream come true

wife, Frances. "He was using Betheune to glorify 'Ted Allan,'" said Sutherland. "It's that kind of scrambling up the ladder—saying anything to achieve personal notoriety for himself—that I have problems with."

Allan acknowledges that he did fall in love

with Frances after Betheune's death, but contends that he did not have an affair with her. "Donald should not take it personally," said Allan. "I never laid a hand on her." He added, however, that he may have given the actor a different impression. "I'm writing my autobiography now," he said, "and I'm calling it a fictional autobiography, because I'm discovering that I've never seen what happened—the reality versus the fantasies." But Allan seemingly denies that he betrayed Betheune in Spain or took credit for writing "Washed." "That charge is

Allan: a 48-year wait



Photo: [unreadable]

the story, Sutherland owned the character. Allan stated his claim in 1942 by selling a 180-page Betheune outline to 20th Century-Fox. Over the years, various studio executives and Hollywood stars—including Warren Beatty, Robert Redford, Paul Newman and Dustin Hoffman—expressed interest in it. But Hollywood was not as hot to glorify a Communist during the Cold War. The project also made the rounds among various Canadian filmmakers, from Norman Jewison to Ted Kotcheff. Finally, in 1985, two unimpressed Montreal producers, Nicolas Chouhrouh and Peter Krausenberg, revived the project with the help of Julie Allan, the screenwriter's daughter.

But the Canadian government became the key player by signing an unprecedented co-production deal with China in 1987. In an spirit of official pluralism, China was open for

business, and Betheune served as the flower in Ottawa's diplomatic lapel. Accepting Allan's script, China agreed to contribute \$6 million worth of goods and services to the movie's budget. The rest came from the cine, the French co-producers, private investors and Telefilm, which promised \$3.7 million. By the time the movie was completed, Telefilm had bailed out the project, more than doubling its contribution to \$8.5 million.

**Indiscretions:** The producers had grossly underestimated the cost of their ambitious venture. Following in Betheune's footsteps, they filmed in remote parts of China, including the Wutu Mountains, where making a phone call meant driving for 12 hours. The food and facilities often proved woefully inadequate. Expensive film had to be sent to Vancouver for processing, then back to China. Canadian and Chinese crews had trouble understanding each other's methods. There were endless delays, and the Chinese were especially perplexed to see the script that they had approved changing daily until it was unrecognizable.

After four months of shooting in China during the summer of 1987, financial problems halted production for a year. By then, bitter quarrels over the script had split the filmmakers into two camps: Sutherland and director Borow versus Allan and the producers. With a new boost from Telefilm, shooting was completed in Montreal and Spain. But then, the lead shifted to the casting room.

In September, 1988, nine months after shooting ended, the producers rejected the version that Borow had been working on. Along with Telefilm, the cine and the movie's sales agents, they told the director that it was unacceptable. Borow now says that he was disappointed, lacking vital narration that the producers hired a new editor and decided to completely recut the movie without the participation of Borow. Rejecting the director's chronological narrative, they chose to construct the movie as a series of flashbacks.

**Impasse:** That that required yet more money, and suddenly the political climate had changed with Tiananmen Square. Before the massacre, Telefilm was under political pressure from Flora MacDonald, then communications minister, to make the movie at any cost. "Flora wanted this film," said Telefilm's Karadelta. He added that ministry officials "didn't want any embarrassment with the Chinese. But after Tiananmen Square, it was amazing how quickly the government's attitude faded. One minute it was going to be a national shame if we didn't do it, then it would be a shame if we did." Added Karadelta, "There was a point where I could have said, with impunity, 'Listen, it's too much hassle, it's too much money—let's call it off.'"

Instead, Telefilm provided another \$2 million—for a total of \$8.5 million—to complete the movie. Communications Minister Marcel Masse, who took over the portfolio from MacDonald in 1988, denies that there were political pressures to kill it. In an interview with *Maclean's* after the premiere, he said: "If we hadn't continued it would have been a catastro-

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ple. When you start an experiment, you have to finish it." Added Mhuir: "I think the result speaks for itself. It's a film of international status." The film's executive director, Pierre Desrochers, chaired the minister's press, but said that the agency's decision to finance the movie "could not have been made today—the structure of the movie and the script would have to be different."

The Montreal premiere was like a wedding that brought together opposing sides of a family feud. Denis Clark, one of three successful writers hired to revise Allan's script, drew as from Ray Mayne Island, B.C., where Borsos also has his house. In an interview, the writer maintained that he had initially rewritten Allan's script. "Contrastingly, I shouldn't be talking to you," he added, "but the producers haven't paid me for my last year of work, so I have no qualms about it." The writer said that he is still owed \$30,000 and that both he and actress Helen Shaver had to pay their own way back from China.

**Populists:** Producer Clement dismissed Clark's claims as "totally ridiculous" and advised him to either file a claim or "shut up." He said that, while some dialogue was revised, the basic story and structure were faithful to Allan's script. "How could it be any less?" he asked. "The movie is the story of Borsos and Ted Allan."

Meanwhile, Borsos, conspicuous by his absence at the Montreal premiere, says that there were 33 drafts of the screenplay. He maintains that Clark wrote most of the scenes that were filmed, with help from himself and Sutherland. In fact, the star and the director worked closely together working scenes, often the night before they were shot. Katsudon said, "It was the case of an inexperienced director with a star who was running the show." Borsos disagrees. "Donald always said he was there to provide material which can be used or not," the director told Maclean's. "He had no many terrific suggestions, why would I not listen to him?" Continued Borsos: "It was a film driven by government financing. They set the agenda. And that is where the problems started."

While clearly dissatisfied with the movie that bears his name, Borsos said that he had no desire to enter the current fray of executives. He also stressed that he was proud of his work. "Everything was gone about in the wrong way," he said. "But the film got made because of an impassioned Ted Allan, an impassioned group of producers, an impassioned actor—

and, I might add, an impassioned director who wanted to make a film about a remarkable subject. Nobody did it for the money."

The Borsos passion proved too strong for some at the premiere. Suffering from heart palpitations, Allan went to bed immediately after introducing the film. Clark walked out before the end of the movie, annoyed by how the producers had cut the footage. Sutherland, planning to visit the director at the end of the movie, stayed in his hotel room, tried to call to find the Borsos headed game on TV and then ordered a room service sandwich. He has not

up at his hotel room. They shared a limousine to the theatre. The actor asked the driver to stop two blocks from the building, where photographers lay in wait under the marquee. As the limousine idled by the curb, Sutherland and Watson poured the time-losing game. The actor told one about a New Scotia ice fisherman who drags a hole in a skating rink. Watson used an Irish accent to tell one about a gambler and a sea captain. Finally, it was time. Bowdler that director in the better part of glasses. Sutherland dismissed the limousine driver and walked the remaining distance to the theatre

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Scene from *Borsos*: during filming in remote areas, a phone call meant a 12-hour drive

seen the finished movie, but that is not unusual—he first saw the 1971 thriller *Kluge* in which he starred, opposite Jane Fonda, only recently. However, he said that he did wish the producers' version of *Borsos* on video, turning it off after 20 minutes. "No matter how good people think it is," he declared, "it is not as good as it could have been."

Sutherland expressed his ongoing contempt for Allan. "He has left a bruise on the back of my head" and his unyielding admiration for Borsos. "Directors make films, and I work for directors." But he also talked about the subject of his obsession, and why he agreed to do the movie under such adverse conditions. "I could not live my life without doing it," the actor said. "Norman Borsos represents to me what is fundamentally good about the Canadian character. I think he was sitting in the heart of Kluge when he did his *Wohlschlaecher*." Later, Sutherland's friend Watson shared

with Watson. Inside, the star stood by the porch stand as the audience watched his character die. Then, as the final credits rolled, more applause turned into a standing ovation as Sutherland reached down the aisle and walked into the light of the screen.

Stepping up to a microphone, Sutherland made a short but impassioned speech about the necessity of a publicly funded movie industry in Canada. "You can't begin to believe how important it is for this country that Ted Allan's Canada exists," he said. The audience had just seen Sutherland's Borsos preaching socialist medicine from a stage in Montreal. Now, on another Montreal stage, the actor who played him was extolling the virtues of socialist values. And, with the benediction of an eclipse, the elusive legacy of Norman Borsos slipped into focus.

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SPECIAL REPORT

# SUCCESSSES ON THE SCREEN

## CANADA DEVELOPS ITS FILM INDUSTRY

**I**ndustry, it promised to be a grim year for Canadian cinema. For the first time in 12 years, not a single Canadian movie was selected for the official program at the International Cannes Film Festival in May. And after the Montreal-based producers of *Beliveau*, *The Making of a Hero* previously screened their movie for distributors there, the beach was about with rumors that the \$14-million epic was a failure. But the national harvest of Canadian movies traditionally takes place at Canada's one film extravaganza. This week marks the end of the Montreal World Film Festival (Aug. 23 to Sept. 3) and the beginning of Toronto's Festival of Festivals (Sept. 6 to 15). And among the 40 Canadian features in their programs, there are some encouraging surprises. Under a cloud of controversy, *Beliveau* made a respectable impression at its world premiere in Montreal. And the opening-night movie at the Festival of Festivals, a delightful comedy about *Perfectly Normal*, marks an exciting breakthrough for English-Canadian cinema.

Over the years, movies from Quebec have been consistently strong and those from English Canada have enjoyed sporadic success. Quebec's confident culture has fostered a strong community of film-makers and a captive audience for their work. Director Denis Arcand achieved Cannes with *Les Invisibles* (1988) and Jean de Meville (1988). Director Robert Morin's quirky *Cruciverba* (1988) outgrossed *Starman* at the Quebec box office. But, in English Canada, there has been a lack of chemistry between art and commerce. Its film culture often seems split between sophisticated art movies that few people see and sprawling period dramas, like *Beliveau*, that threaten to collapse under the weight of overwrought emotion.

The program from *Beliveau* to *Perfectly Normal* illustrates a quantum leap in English-Canadian cinema. *Beliveau* is a classic example



*Perfectly Normal*'s Riley (left), Coltrane: quantum leap

of a producer-driven project. It was the production—born, but unrecognized—who fought ahead with an inadequate budget and a creative team founded on artistic differences. Regardless of whether they were justified in leaving over the editing from director Philip Barish, the result is a movie that lacks a cohesive voice.

*Thriller*: *Madeline* is a true \$4-million, *Perfectly Normal* is a director-driven movie that displays the remarkable talent of Quebec's Yves Senécal, making his first feature in English. And its top-billed actor is a host named Robbie Coltrane. Said *Perfectly Normal*'s Toronto-based

producer, Michael Burns: "In Canada, we can't depend on established stars. Our cinema has to be totally a director's medium." He added: "Robbie Coltrane is a very brave, and I hope he becomes a star. But this movie will be sold as an Yves Senécal movie, not a Robbie Coltrane movie."

**Charm**: Although it has a French-Canadian director, *Perfectly Normal* is strictly English-Canadian—the story of a Toronto brewery worker (Michael Riley) with small-town dreams who plays in an industrial hockey league and cultivates a closet passion for opera, with encouragement from a failed Florida real-estateer (Coltrane). The movie's ambitions are modest, yet amply fulfilled.

And as a movie about ambition—about going beyond what Coltrane's character calls "any little fairy dreams"—*Perfectly Normal* serves as a metaphor for the Canadian movie industry.

The film's local references are specific, but its charm is universal. Burns says that he is finding generous offers from five American companies willing to distribute it in the United States. The movie is scheduled to open commercially across North America next January, and Burns says that it should be advertised as "*Perfectly Normal*, *The Story of Canada*."

The movie reflects a new energy in Canada's film-funding agencies, according to Burns. He added, "Now, they're investing in stories and the people they feel can deliver them, instead of all marketing people who think they can sell us to Hollywood." In fact, there have been changes in personnel and attitude at Telefilm Canada since it embarked on its *Beliveau* adventure. Said Peter Katsikides, who became Telefilm's national director of production two years ago: "The kinds of things that the government should be supporting are the lower-budget films that are different and interesting. Films like *My Left Foot*," added Katsikides. "You have to be very careful in choosing the projects. In previous years, it really was first come, first served, and there was a hell of a lot of political interference."

Since launching its feature-film fund five years ago, Telefilm Canada has invested in more than 80 English-language movies, but only one, *I've Heard the Mermaids Singing* (1987)—a quirky tale about an aging artist that cost just \$400,000—has made a profit. Says Telefilm executive director Pierre DesRoches, however, profitability "can only be a small element" of the agency's priorities. "Otherwise," he said, "you don't make films in Canada, or you make films that don't look like us."

Despite their commitment to taking artistic

trials. Teitford executives want to be increasingly attuned to economic reality. The agency—which averaged \$184.5 million in 225 Canadian film and television projects during the past year—has begun to put a heavier emphasis on marketing. It now has a special fund of \$1 million to help promote Canadian movies in the United States. Said Nix Pictures of Ronbas Media, a Toronto-based production house: "I can feel the tension mounting at Teitford. They're under a lot of pressure to back commercially successful films. But you can't legislate a hit." He added: "The only way to make successful films is with a good script and director. Miramax had that magic, which is partly luck and fate."

**Murder:** The Toronto-based director of *Murder*, Patricia Rozema, says that the success of her first feature movie was a surprise to her as well. Declared Rozema: "I still don't get it." Her new movie, *White Room*—a drama about murder and voyeurism—opens this week at the Toronto festival. "Miramax taught me that you don't need stars or a track record to get a film out there," said Rozema. "What you do need is money so the people know it exists. When an American film is busy, it still gets seen." She added, "What I adore about this country is its humility, but we still need star power—advertising is brutal."

Canadian movies account for only three per cent of Canadian box-office revenue. But, two years ago, the federal government shelved plans to legislate a stronger role for Canadian distributors after local opposition from Hollywood's powerful lobby Jack Valenti, head of the Motion Picture Association of America. When English-Canadian movies do reach theaters, they still often fail to attract audiences. Said Teitford's Katsoulis: "We don't have a very good record of supporting our own film, except in Quebec."

In the past, attempts to win over audiences by packaging Canadian content in low-budget style have failed. And like the world's best independent film-makers, Canadian film directors have spent on developing their own voice. Said one National Film Board's Cynthia Scott, who has made a brilliant feature-film debut with *The Company of Strangers*: "A lot of us don't and never wanted to make American-type movies."

The sole Canadian movie invited to this month's annual Venice Film Festival, *Company of Strangers*—also part of the Toronto festival—combines documentary and dramatic styles with awardless magic. Much more appealing than it sounds, it is a drama about seven elderly women and their young female bus driver who are stranded in the country. The situation is fictional, but the characters are all real women who use their own names and talk about their real lives, with engaging candor. Most often, they respond without a script.



Sheila McCarthy in *White Room* (top); Alice Dinno (left), Winifred Holden in *The Company of Strangers*; murder and voyeurism, magic

The movie was produced by the NFB's alternative drama program, in which Montreal directors John N. Smith and Giles Walter produced similar experiments in unconstructed drama. "The NFB is the only place where I can imagine getting this kind of film done," said Scott, who was as Oscar in 1984 for her documentary *Flower* at \$150,000. "I don't imagine going to any producer saying, 'I want to do a film about seven old ladies in a house and I'm not going to use actors.'" Even when completing her movie, Scott had trouble getting it launched. The Canadian selection committee that chooses which films will be seen by programmers at the Cannes festival

rejected *Company of Strangers*. Said Scott: "They thought it was weird, but not sexy enough for Cannes."

The glories of Cannes, the world's largest talent contest for independent film makers, can be as deceptive as Hollywood's *Netflix*. *Company of Strangers* not *Perfectly Normal* was invited, but they are far superior to many of the movies that were.

With its Quebec director, *Perfectly Normal* is one of several movies bringing outside talent to the English-Canadian film industry. Another Quebec director, Claude Gauthier, is currently shooting an English-language co-production with Japan. The movie, titled *The Placard*, is the story of two artists in love with a concert pianist, and is adapted from the novel *A Certain Mr. Zerkow* by Toronto writer Alan Archibald. Also this fall, Toronto director Bryan Buppala—whose Polish movie *Idem* was shown at this year's Cannes festival—will begin shooting *A Dream Like Mine*, a harrowing story of native violence based on the 1982 novel by Toronto author M.T. Kelly.

Meanwhile, another violent drama in the north starts shooting this month. *Black Robe*, based on Brian Moore's historical novel about the Jesuits and the Iroquois, *Jana of Montreal* star Lotte Rabinovitch heads a cast directed by Andre's brother Bernard, who made last year's Oscar-winning *Covering Miss Depp*. *Black Robe* and *A Dream Like Mine* are welcome departures from English Canada's penchant for coming-of-age, drama and period nostalgia. Budgeted at \$4.6 million, *Black Robe* is the country's biggest feature-film debut.

"There isn't a film industry here," he said. "There isn't a film industry—I'm not sure there ever will be."

Robert Leaton, says that Canadian feature films are improving, although they still depend on television's industrial base. "There is a growing, low-life TV industry here," he said. "There isn't a film industry—I'm not sure there ever will be."

But there is a film culture. Nourished by public money and such institutions as the 21-year-old Canadian Centre for Advanced Film Studies, it has a greenhouse existence. And sometimes, in the face of an insatiable market, it leans outside that.

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# REBEL WITH A CAUSE

## THE SPIRIT OF BETHUNE PREVAILS

BETHUNE: THE MAKING OF A HERO  
Covered by Philip Benson

**T**he continuing force of often-overlooked history surrounding *Bethune: The Making of a Hero* has tended to overshadow the movie itself. But now that the film has finally been accepted, it has a life of its own, independent of the filmmakers who battled over its creative custody. And as it turns out, the epic about Canadian battlefield surgeon Norman Bethune is neither the monumental triumph that its creators had hoped for nor the disaster that some movie industry insiders had expected.

The movie has obvious flaws. Hobbled by multiple surgeries, its narrative signals between continents and decades with a jarring rhythm. Secondary characters are thinly developed, and the romantic subplot is weak. But *Bethune* offers an experience rarely found in a movie theater. It dramatizes an age of revolutionary politics with passion, authenticity and detail. It tells an extraordinary story, and the lead of hero that Hollywood would never dare create—a charismatic yet obstinate Canadian doctor whose commitment becomes his most endearing trait. He is a hero for what he does rather than what he is. Portraying him with obsessive conviction, Canadian actor Donald Sutherland gives the performance of his life. It is a deeply felt, sharply focused portrait, in which the actor seems genuinely possessed by the character's spirit.

The action begins and ends with Bethune's (faded) procession in China's White Mountains. Most of the movie traces the surgeon's remarkable twenty-year odyssey into the heart of the Chinese Revolution, culminating in his death from blood poisoning in 1939. Flashbacks reconstruct his earlier years, from his crusade in Montreal for socialized medicine to his mobile blood-transfusion work in the Spanish Civil War. The various threads are stitched together, documentary-style, with narration and interviews by a fictional journalist named Chester. Roy Scheider, from a character based largely on screenwriter Ted Allen, who had a rocky friendship with Bethune.

Working as a surgeon in a Montreal hospital during the 1920s, Bethune is a socialist idealist, antagonizing his superiors with economic advances in surgery. A wealthy physician, he turns his attention to treating the poor and the unemployed during the 1930s. And in campaigning for socialized medicine, his frustration finally converts him to communism.

Bethune's personal politics are slower to



Sutherland (left) as Bethune; the performance of his life in a flawed movie

material. A compulsive wanderer, he courts his wife, Frances—played by an unusually vacant Helen Mirren. He divorces and later remarries her, only to neglect her again while his close friend Alan Coleman (Rusdie Pritchett) seeks his affection. Bethune reaches his end on the battlefield of Spain in 1936 and 1937, where his heavy drinking and on-edge behavior persuades party officials to send him home, labelled as a "bad Communist."

**Venues:** He finds salvation in China, where he affects his persona to Mao Tse-tung. But it takes a while for him to lose his Western arrogance. With Westerner skepticism, he berates his Chinese hosts for their primitive medical facilities, and then forges ahead with the construction of a permanent teaching hospital, ignoring warnings that it will be destroyed in guerrilla warfare. But Bethune finally learns humility from the Chinese. "The fascist that I failed to struggle with I did not recognize," he says. "It is that fascist that lives within each of us—and within myself."

China saves Bethune. Bethune saves China. He becomes a hero only after he stops trying to act like one. The transformation takes place late in the movie. Until then, as a five-foot foreigner patronizing the Chinese, Bethune plays the prison boss. But no matter how disagreeable he becomes, his unflinching can-

dor makes him consistently compelling.

The doctor's personality overwhelms all others in Allen's script. There are, however, some fine supporting actors. As Coleman, Pritchett leads a life to the Montreal sequences. And as Dr. Chen, Bethune's gruff interpreter and colleague, Chinese actor Guo Da delivers a subtle and moving performance. But *Bethune* lacks an adequate foil. There is no contrast between him and his wife. His romantic interlude with a Montreal woman named Mac-Francis seems a poor excuse to find some screen time for French actress Anouk Krasmé—to fulfill a co-production deal with France. And Helen Mirren's role, as a Protestant missionary whom he tries to seduce in China, seems superfluous.

Bethune appears to have been assembled rather than created—a filmmaker's exalted director Philip Benson from the final editing. But behind the drama's distracting framework, there is magic in Benson's strongly composed images, especially those of China. Like its imperfect hero, *Bethune* is a scarred fabric, wounded by contrivances. But through the bewildered maelstrom of creative compromise, the disorienting and complex spirit of its subject shines with singular clarity.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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  5. Cocoa Islands — The Sun Sets In The West
  6. Money Pit — Plunder
  7. King John's Jewels — Emeralds
  8. The Dead Sea Scrolls — A Cache of Bullion
  9. Atlantis — Lost Island
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## HEALTH

# A growing menace

*Doctors debate the spread of Lyme disease*

In late August, 1988, teacher Diane Kandre was working in the garden of her West Vancouver home when an insect hit her on the back of her right shoulder. Kandre, now 37, quickly forgot about the incident but, a week later, she began suffering from nausea, fatigue and headaches. At first, Kandre says, she thought that she had the flu. But during the next four months, she develops a constant ringing in her ears, dizzy spells

where scientists first identified Lyme disease in 1977, there are only about 100 known cases, according to the federal health department, but the disease is only reportable in Ontario. Officials with the department's Ontario-based Laboratory Centre for Disease Control say that they are still studying the risk that transmits Lyme disease in order to determine the extent of its habitat and its potential for spreading the infection. Some doctors, however, claim that



Kandre (right) with support-group members examining Lyme tick; nausea

and stiff joints. Kandre added that, no matter what various doctors prescribed, she continued to develop new symptoms. Then, 10 months after she had first become sick, Kandre was hospitalized because pain in her legs and other arthritic symptoms made it impossible for her to walk without a cane. Only then did a doctor correctly diagnose her condition as borreliosis, or Lyme disease, a debilitating bacterial infection that she contracted from the tick bite. Said Kandre, who is still taking antibiotics two years after her illness began: "I was a healthy person and, all of a sudden, I couldn't get out of bed or even walk. It was very frightening."

Since 1982, when American medical authorities first began compiling statistics on the infection, there have been more than 21,000 reported cases in the United States. In Canada,

Lyme disease is already common but frequently misdiagnosed because its problems such as a wide range of symptoms. Said Agn, Ont., doctor Philip Williams, who has treated numerous sufferers of Lyme disease: "It is a relatively common disease that people are just waking up to."

According to Kandre, public concern over the disease has risen dramatically in the year since she co-founded a victims support group in British Columbia starting with only three members. Currently, the group has 120 members, all of these suffering from confirmed or suspected cases of Lyme disease, and she said that she receives 30 to 40 calls a week from people who suspect that they have contracted the disease. Dr. Susan Mackenzie, an epidemiologist at the Centre for Disease Control, said that

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

## HEALTH

CASES of the disease have been documented in all but three provinces, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, as well as the northern territories.

Although medical experts disagree over the prevalence of the disease in Canada, most say that they are certain that it is transmitted by two types of ticks that feed on the blood of mammals. Ian Barker, an associate professor of wildlife diseases at the University of Guelph in Ontario, says that the ticks normally inhabit tall grasses or low brush found in wooded areas. When an individual tick is about to progress from the larva to nymph stage of its development, and from the nymph stage to adulthood, it must find a host tick or animal from which it can draw a single meal of blood. Ticks approaching adulthood typically attach themselves to larger mammals, such as deer, horses, cows and humans.

Adult ticks, which are brown and less than one-eighth of an inch long, bury their heads in the skin of their host in order to obtain blood. If undetected, they can feed over a period of several days and, in the process, transfer to their host a bacteria called *Borrelia burgdorferi*. It is this micro-organism that causes Lyme disease, which American scientists started tracking in 1975 after a group of children in Old Lyme, Conn., developed a series of unusual rashes, headaches and painful, stiff joints.

Some experts contend that the ticks that harbor the bacteria do not flourish in most areas of Canada. As a result, they say, the risk of contracting Lyme disease in the country is low. One of the few areas where the ticks are common is Long Point, a 38-km-long sandy peninsula that juts into Lake Erie in southwestern Ontario. Barker says that prevention against the ticks is provided by light-colored clothes, which can be tucked into socks and under the pants. Barker also says that spraying insect repellent with the ingredient DEET on clothes will help keep ticks away. He added that when a possible victim is indoors, he should thoroughly check his body. If he finds a tick, he should carefully remove it with a pair of tweezers to prevent mouth parts from remaining lodged in the skin.

The ticks are difficult to detect because their bite is painless, according to experts. In most cases, a bite will cause nothing more than a rash on the skin. As well as rashes and headaches, long-term effects of a bite from an infected tick may include gastrointestinal problems, headaches, profound fatigue, joint pain, arthritis and short-term memory loss. But doctors say that, if caught early, Lyme disease can be effectively treated with such orally administered antibiotics as tetracycline and penicillin. In later stages, doctors usually administer larger doses of antibiotics intravenously for longer periods of time. But until researchers develop a vaccine against Lyme disease, experts say that prevention is the best means of curbing the spread of the insidious disease.

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HOLY TERROR: ANDY WARHOL

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By Bob Colacello  
(HarperCollins, 514 pages, \$22.95)

**I**n 1973, on a movie set in Rome, Andy Warhol met Elizabeth Taylor for the first time. According to Bob Colacello in his book *My Terror, Andy Warhol Close Up*, the actress was in an amiable mood, wearing that Warhol's dog, Archie, but better not urinate on the carpet in her toilet. "Then," Colacello recalls, "she gulped down a Debauched Mary, her cane for a drink that was 'five parts vodka, one part blood,' and launched into a diatribe against Islam in the movie business, all of whom, she seemed to think, were after her." The author was also in the trailer, holding Archie. Indeed, between 1970 and 1983, while he was a writer for—and then editor of—Warhol's magazine, *Interview*, Colacello was almost constantly at the pop artist's side. As they moved through a ceaseless whirl of business meetings, art events and all-night parties at the legendary Manhattan club Studio 54, Colacello accumulated a host of gossip about the rich and infamous—especially Warhol himself.

Since the artist's untimely death at 58 in 1987, from a heart attack after gallbladder surgery, there has been a spate of books about the man who made celebrities both his business and his art. But Colacello provides more titillating detail than most of the earlier books. Last year's biography, *The Life and Death of Andy Warhol*, by Victor Bockris, was especially thorough in covering early parts of Warhol's life—his troubled childhood, his beginnings as a fashion designer and his reign as the Prince of Pop in the late 1960s—but Bockris was not too involved and did not have nearly the same access as Colacello. Another book that appeared last year, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, edited by former Warhol employee Pat Hackett, consists mostly of transcripts of Warhol's side of daily recorded conversations, starting in 1965 and continuing through 1983. But that is a self only with Warhol's dachshund, Archie. Declared Maroon, "Archie must come to the Philippines and we will introduce him to our dogs. We have 30 dogs and they live in a doghouse, which is more like a doll's house,

in his depiction of the more outrageous sides of Warhol's personality. As he says elsewhere, Warhol's "wisdom of art and business stretched on into the New York City world of partying and making connections—with transvestites, movie stars and politicians. He recounts a 1974 stay at Jessica Hahn's suite in New York's elegant Carlyle Hotel. After being admitted by U.S. secret service agents, Warhol and his entourage found them-



Singer Grace Jones with Warhol in 1978: satirical tales

selves in front of a TV crew shooting a documentary on the then-fair lady of the Philippines. According to *My Terror*, a typically self-conscious Warhol said, "Can you see my jingles in this bright light?"

Warhol hoped that the Filipino first lady might ask him to do her portrait, but Maroon had a self only with Warhol's dachshund, Archie. Declared Maroon, "Archie must come to the Philippines and we will introduce him to our dogs. We have 30 dogs and they live in a doghouse, which is more like a doll's house,

behind our palace in Manila." She never did commission a portrait.

Bockris first-ride name-dropping about others, *My Terror* offers some unsavory insights into Warhol's personality. He was, writes Colacello, afraid to be touched and "technically" a virgin, yet begged to hear every detail of the sexual experiences of others. "Whatever little sex he may have had," adds the author, "was probably a mixture of masturbation and voyeurism." Colacello notes that Warhol was obsessed with the great size of famous men, frequently asking their wives for details. On one occasion, Warhol told Yoko Ono that he would attend an exhibition of her work only if she was forthcoming about her spouse, John Lennon. That reputation for asking important questions led Warhol sides to when the artist asked: asking Third Lady Nancy Reagan about her husband's dimensions when Warhol met her in 1981.

Colacello also mentions that Halston, Warhol's fashion designer friend who died of cancer last March, told of an incident when Warhol had naked men pose for sexually explicit, kinky photos. "When they were done all that posing, Andy would break into these terrible screams and get on his hands and knees and have to go to the bathroom," Halston said. "He was having an orgasm [Halston's term for orgasming in them]."

His personality was like that of a three-year-old, writes Colacello. If Warhol's bidding was done, he was happy. If he was crossed, he took revenge. But he could be vulnerable and endearing. Paul Morrissey, the director of several Warhol films, told Colacello "Andy really was a primitive in a sophisticated world. That's why people were attracted to him. Andy was a holy fool." Adds Colacello: "And a holy terror."

Colacello's style is often archaically person. "Andy wasn't mean," he writes, "more money, more fame, more social power—to get more fame, more bits, some love." Or he is so social too sympathetic, as when he describes how it felt to be written about in the *New York Weekly*. The Village Voice: "I was flattered to find myself mentioned in the same sentence with Jack Nicholson, Warren Beatty, Laurence Hutton and Alice Cooper." Neither is Colacello's book for the serious student of art history. He barely mentions Warhol's work, which, in his book, seems incidental to the story. But as a unearthing of salacious tidbits about Michaelson's innermost self, *My Terror* is delectable.

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# A buried treasure

Mining the metals in Alberta's oil sands

A global recession mounted this summer over Iraq's invasion of oil-rich Kuwait, some oil industry observers predicted that the crisis would create renewed interest in Alberta's oil sands, which contain more than 600 billion barrels of recoverable petroleum. The cost of extracting significant quantities have been prohibitive. But John Rendall, an American engineer, is now patenting a process that he says could make earnings from the oil produced from the oil sands pale in comparison with the potential yield of gold and other valuable metals that are lodged, along with petroleum, in the oil sands. According to Rendall, who filed his patent on June 2, his method of extracting materials from the oil sands involves the use of a solvent to separate clay laden with valuable metals from mined oil sands. In January, Rendall, president of Sol-Era Corp. of Albuquerque, N.M., acquired a 6,000-acre oil-sand lease 120 km north of Edmonton. Rendall says that he hopes



Alberta's oil sands: an aid to reducing vulnerability

to start demonstrating his new, and potentially profitable, method of mining the oil sands by the end of this year.

Rendall said that, if his method succeeds in

extracting gold, silver, aluminum, titanium and iron ore from the sands, the technology could help to reduce the region's vulnerability to shifting world oil prices. Currently, two Alberta firms—Synco Canada Ltd. and Suncor Inc.—are producing 245,000 barrels a day of synthetic crude oil by injecting steam and water into the oil sands to separate the oil-containing bitumen, which is then upgraded for commercial use. Both companies estimate that world oil prices have to remain above \$20 a barrel before oil produced this way can make a

profit. According to Rendall, the ability to extract the metals contained in the oil sands could provide "a huge cushion against any future drop in oil prices." Rendall told Maclean's that he expects that crude oil will ultimately account for only 25 per cent of the project's estimated annual revenues of \$60 million, with 25 per cent coming from gold, silver and iron, 25 per cent from aluminum oxide which is the raw form of aluminum, and 25 per cent from titanium, a valuable lightweight metal used in the space and defense industries.

Unlike Synco and Suncor, Rendall's system would use solvents and hot water to extract oil from the sands. In addition, Rendall says that his method would employ a mixture of



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ENERGY

sulphuric acid and water as a solvent to separate the mineral-rich clay from the sand once the oil deposits have been removed. Bessilov said he hopes that his firm would be producing up to 50,000 barrels of oil a day by 1999. Said Richard Volman, a reporter who writes about energy issues for the Alberta daily newspaper *Fort McMurray Today*: "As a concept, it's amazing. The question is whether it works. If it does, it could be a leap forward of monumental proportions."

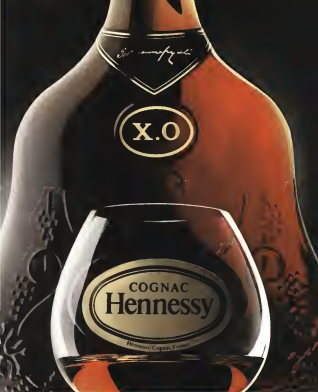
For its part, spokesmen for some of the major oil companies operating in Alberta expressed scepticism about Shell's plans. Mike Whelan, communications manager for Fort McMurray-based Syncrude, which produces 185,000 barrels of synthetic crude a day and that has long been "along a well-worn path towards Shell, because the process was made known" said William Yach, chairman of the Edmonton-based Alberta Oil Sands Technology and Research Authority, a provincial Crown corporation that has given SOR 100% \$3.3 million in research funds since 2008. "We want to test an ability to test the process, we're all for it. Reservoirs in the province are not known to be there."

Alberta's oil-sand deposits cover about 23,000 square miles of territory—an area approximately equal to that of Nova Scotia. The oil sands' estimated 600 billion barrels is recoverable of roughly equals even the Middle East is one of the world's largest known oil reserves. Still, much of the oil-sand petroleum is considered difficult to extract, except in the few sites where deposits are near the surface. For that reason, most mining takes place in a 3,500-square-mile area along the banks of the Athabasca River, near Fort McMurray in northeastern Alberta.

Even in that region, companies must separate bitumen, the hydrocarbon base of synthetic crude oil, from a tar-like mixture that also includes sand, clay and water. Steam is used to extract the bitumen in liquid form so that it can be pumped out. The bitumen is then upgraded to synthetic crude by taking out some carbon or adding hydrogen from natural gas, making it light enough for the refining refineries that produce heating fuel and other petroleum products.

Rendell's marketing is expected to help to pay up the \$10 million that he says he will need to launch the oil sands pilot project. But he adds that he is confident that the project will be paid by the end of the year. He acquired his oil-sands lease through a deal with Calgary-based Con-Excess Oil Sands Ltd. Under the terms of the agreement, finished in January this year, Rendell's firm received the lease in return for \$200,000. Since then, however, oil prices increased prompted by the crisis in the Middle East have spurred more interest in the established oil sands operations. Still, if Rendell's system is successful, it could prove as even greater motive for developing Alberta's vast oil-sand reserves—not just for the petroleum they contain, but for their potential medical uses as well.

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## BOOKS

### Look back in anger

*Pierre Berton finds villainy in the 1930s*

**A**fter producing 35 titles, and at the venerable age of 70, Pierre Berton has written his first angry book. Canada's most-read author has taken on the Great Depression, and the project has made him famous. "It was that book that really made me mad as I wrote it," he said in an interview. "It suddenly sustained that a lot of what happened back then was appalling. It was a nightmare, and I think that helped me to write a

the U.S. movie industry's misrepresentation of Canada, in *Midwestern's Canada* (1975).

For Berton, the effort has been financially rewarding. *Midnight* of his past success in the bookstores. Toronto-based McClelland & Stewart gave the author a \$610,000 advance for *The Great Depression* and an upcoming series of four books about the history of Niagara Falls. And the million-dollar author, who lives in Kitchburg, Ont., just north of Toronto, with

ag. staff." In the case of *The Great Depression*, the good news, which the author carried out with the help of his full-time assistant, Barbara Sears, involved such daunting tasks as reading the 8,000-page report of the 1933 Rogers-Rod Inquiry Commission. The hefty document was an examination of the causes of a riot that broke out between the police and several hundred relief-camp workers travelling from Vancouver to Ottawa, where they had planned to stage a protest rally.

Berton also put advertisements in newspapers to find people who had interesting stories to tell about the Depression. The author then travelled across Canada for dozens of interviews, including one with octogenarian Steve Brooks of Victoria, who recounted crossing the country as a boxer 75 times because he could not find a steady job.

Berton himself was relatively untouched by the Depression. In 1939, when the stock market crashed, he was nine years old living in the Yukon, where the events to the south had only



Berton: his book 'really made me mad as I wrote it. A lot of what happened was appalling'

A gripping and often disturbing survey of the country's darkest years, *The Great Depression* is arguably Berton's best book. It comes a career that has yielded some of the most popular literary prose in Canada. 18 of his books have been ranked in the country's top 100 books since the country's birth. Ever since the appearance of his first Canadian literary book, *Klondike* (1964), which told the story of the Yukon gold rush of 1898, Berton has topped the domestic best-seller lists with lively glimpses into the past.

Among his most popular books have been *The Last Spike* (1971), about the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad; *The Downe House* (1971), which told the story of Canada's Downe family; and *Wag* (1986), an examination of the First World War battle in which the Canadian corps captured France's Vimy Ridge. But the relatively curious—and highly controversial—author has also turned his attention to such disparate subjects as the Anglican Church, in *The Comfortable Prince* (1986), and

his wife, Janet (they have eight grown children, will receive royalties of at least 15 per cent on sales of those five books)—an arrangement that could net him as well as \$500,000 if they sell jointly. Said Berton of his publishers: "They treat me well, but then, I treat them pretty well, too." Indeed, the \$5,000-copy first printing of *The Great Depression* reflects the publishing house's confidence in Berton.

His success has been the result of hard work and determination. "Just the basic research for my books routinely takes six months," Berton told *Maclean's*. "Those first months of research are really terribly depressing—because you don't think you have a story. It's not till you get in really deep that you get to the material—

a mild impact. The following year, his father, Francis, retired from his job as a civil servant in the North and moved the family to Toronto. Then, in 1940, the family relocated to Victoria, where Pierre went to high school and college. With his father's small pension, the Berton level a modest but comfortable life. "Frankly," said Berton, "for me, in many ways the Thirties was a wonderful time."

As the author plunged into his research, he reached just how depressing the era was for a lot of other Canadians. "What I didn't want to do was enter the book with too much nostalgia," he said, "because, for most people, it wasn't a good time." Describing the "confident optimism" that prevailed in "the comfortable

opel, overstocked country" in the 1930s. *The Great Depression* vividly captures the bleak terror that gripped ordinary people when the stock markets collapsed and the capitalist system ground to a halt.

Like Bertin's best historical works, the book's strength lies in his ability to blend detailed accounts of influential personalities, events and moments with scenes about the lives of everyday Canadians. There are scenes of hawking woodrats, including the story of Toronto bookkeeper Lottie Nugent, who invested her life savings, and borrowed heavily, to play the market. A few months later, unable to repay her loan, she calmly entered her

Bertin paints an equally sobering picture of the country's private employers, who, he mentions, exploited the vulnerability of their workforces to profit from the Depression. The New York City-based Woolworth chain of department stores, for one, formulated a policy of keeping its female employees on call, "never knowing," Bertin writes, "when they would be offered work, and unable to look for other jobs." In 1932, the company demanded, and got, a 16-per-cent wage cut from its employees—while showing a net profit of \$5.8 million.

The T. Eaton Co., meanwhile, made it impossible for some of its employees to take rests at its Toronto clothing factory. Woolworth Wells, who worked as an "examiner" there,

were finally closed after King's re-election in 1936—but only after the bloody Regina Riot of the previous year, so which the scarer shot 12 unarmed former military camp inmates as their way to a protest in Ottawa. Writes Bertin: "Although the Canadian government tried to make it appear that the riotous gangs were part of a plan to save the youth of the country, the real reason was to save the country from its youth—to get the jobless out of the way and prevent revolution."

According to Bertin, the fight against real and alleged Communists became a massive excuse for federal, provincial and local governments to trample on democratic rights. Individuals labelled "Communists" by the federal authorities were routinely deported—including some of German descent who ended up in Hitler's death camps. Bertin recounts that one man, Hans Kist, was sent back to his native Germany by government officials after he participated in a strike in Fraser Mills, B.C. The Nazis, agreeing with Canada's assessment of Kist as a "disorganizing troublemaker," tortured him to death.

Gay officials in Sedbury, Ont., banned all meetings of more than two persons after Communists there tried to organize radical unions in 1939. Seven years later, Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis introduced the notorious padlock law, which gave police in that province the power to lock any building used for what officials considered to be "Communist gatherings."

Not until the book's closing chapter does Bertin's anger at the magnitude and hypocrisy of such men as King and Bennett reach its peak. Preparing for war, King suddenly became generous with the public purse. Interrupting the narrative with earlier quotes by both Bennett and King about the danger of spending public money for the common good, Bertin denounces as lost money not spent for those former Canadians as leaders. Relating a story of two former anti-camp workers who meet on a warship heading for Germany, Bertin specifies the sad irony of their situation: "The government had once paid them 20 cents a day and treated them as humans. Now it was giving 90 cents in meals and treating them as heroes."

Although *The Great Depression* presents a scathing attack on governmental and economic elites, Bertin says that he did not set out to write a political tract—"It's not a left-wing book, but you can't write a book about the Depression without being considered left-wing, because the right-wingers were in charge, and they bungled it." He added, "Those are the facts, it's about time this book was written."

With passion and fury, Pierre Bertin has cast a harsh light on one of the darkest corners of Canada's past. The country's image of itself may never be quite the same.

VICTOR LUTER

# "He squeezes the toothpaste from the bottom. And he drinks Johnnie Walker Red."



Good taste is always an asset.



**Depression-era family: Canada's political and economic leaders ignored the misery**

room in a downtown boarding house and killed herself by turning on the gas.

Despite the brief times that followed the crash, many of Canada's political and economic leaders chose to ignore the misery exposed and by many of their fellow Canadians—and Bertin seems to take pleasure in describing the elite's shortcomings in soothing detail. He portrays the Liberal Minister, King as atrociously unkind and hypocritical in the face of great distress. In his diary entry for Jan. 1, 1939—three months after the crash—King thanked God "with all my heart for protecting me through the year now drawing to a close."

Although the Prime Minister endorsed in his journals about the "spirit of mutual aid" that informed his Christian beliefs, he steadfastly refused to match these sentiments with adequate federal money for the victims of the crash. In fact, he wrote elsewhere in his diary that he hoped those who still had their jobs would be selfish enough to ignore the jobless and would not add their voices to the growing chorus demanding unemployment benefits

located to the Royal Commission on Price Spreads in 1935 that, since the Depression, King had removed the steel that she would occasionally use to take brief breaks. She reported that she hated going home on the streetcar, "because if I sat down I could not get up again, my knees and my legs would be so stiff." In Quebec, several of the biggest garment manufacturers implemented industry-wide lockouts of employees who had been fired for complaining of being paid below the legal minimum wage.

For many of the millions who could not find work, conditions were even worse. In 1932, unemployment reached a staggering 36 per cent in Ontario. To single men, the government of Conservative Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, who led the country from 1930 to 1935, offered what Bertin terms "the gift of 20 cents a day" to work in one of dozens of relief camps spread across the Canadian countryside. Breeding grounds of boredom and disease, the poorly funded camps were virtual prisons for the men who lived in them. They

# Flames of desire

Richard Ford spins a tale of pain and passion

**WILDLIFE**  
By Richard Ford  
(Little Brown, 177 pages, \$19.95)

**F**ranc Bascombe, the central character of Richard Ford's 2006 novel, *The Sportswriter*, is a middle-aged journalist at still eering from his failed marriage and his abortive career as a fiction writer. As he surveys the desecry of his life, he predicts: "Something will happen. At least there has to be something to look forward to." The same tone of

a teenage boy whose life comes apart when his father loses his job and his mother falls in love with another man. It is 1960, and Jerry Bronson, chasing the promise of prosperity offered by the western of horses, has moved his wife and son from Idaho. But when he is fired from his job as a golf instructor, the father joins the men fighting the conflagration that threatens to burn through the fall and winter.

The forest fire that grows out of "imprudent causes" becomes a spool for the relations forces that shape the characters' lives. "We

to that of Ernest Hemingway. The similarities are striking. Like *The Old Man and the Sea*, *Wildlife* is a novel that is a long short story. But in contrast to Hemingway's classic period, the characters in Ford's novel do not learn any lessons—even though they continually try to make sense of what is happening to them. And their tendency to formulate simple and staid insights seems at odds with their inability to control their lives.

At times, Ford plays the forest-fire metaphor a little too energetically. Joe's father returns after three days in the mountains to find his wife passed to have home. She tells him, "Will the fire ever go out?" And Jerry replies: "It's hard to put out."

In the end, nothing is really resolved, and the Bronsons continue to fail miserably. Frustrated and disheartened, Jerry decides to take out his anger against Miller. He goes to the front porch of his rival's house and sets it on fire, but the flames spread and without doing much damage, Miller and Jeannette and their brief love affair end, after a period of dislocation, the Bronsons settle back into a tentative stability.

No longer an innocent, Joe comes to accept his bewilderment about his parents' lives. "God knows," he reflects in the book's last sentence, "there is still much to it that I myself, their only son, cannot fully claim to understand." More than anything, *Wildlife* is about coming to terms with a universe where there are no absolutes. Charged with poignancy and pain, it is a Richard Ford at his finest.

CATHERINE BOSS



Ford: characters who are exhilarated by exposure to the chaos of fire and loss

helpful melancholy colors the adolescent struggles of Joe Bronson, the 18-year-old protagonist of Ford's new novel, *Wildlife*. "Something'll happen to make things seem different," says his mother, Jeannette Bronson, attempting to console her son. In his short stories (*Black Springs*) and longer fiction (*A Piece of My Heart*, *The Ultimate Good Luck*), Ford repeatedly offers such small consolations in the face of a chaotic universe. The idea of human predicament is central to the author's spare and eloquent new novel, infused with sadness, the characters in *Wildlife* are ordinary Americans living unremarkable lives: a golf pro, a swimming teacher, a young boy. But Ford's themes are universal, and they resonate with a specific grandeur.

Against the backdrop of a forest fire burning out of control in the mountains near Great Falls, Mont., Ford has shaped a simple story of

don't have any control over anything here now," Joe's father repeats at a telephone conversation. "We just watch everything burn." In the same way, Joe watches helplessly as his mother becomes involved with Warren Miller, a wealthy older man. As she risks the flames of illicit love, Jeannette tells her son, "It's always just yourself and nothing else." And her lover, Warren Miller, says, "Sometimes you have to do the wrong thing just to know you're alive."

Joe's parents are in fact exhilarated by their exposure to the chaos of fire and love. But not their son. As Jerry and Jeannette leave behind the seductive solace of their customary lives, Joe is plunged into confusion. "I wonder if there was some pattern or an order to things in your life," he says. "Or was everything just happening all the time, in a whirl without anything to stop it or cause it?"

Critics have compared Ford's heroic prose

## Maclean's

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### FICTION

- 1 *Spy School*, Douglas
- 2 *The Burden of Proof*, Toner (1)
- 3 *Twelve of My Months*, Moore (4)
- 4 *Five Feet Underneath*, King
- 5 *Memories of Midnight*, Sullivan (2)
- 6 *The Women in His Life*, Bradford (3)
- 7 *September*, Packer (6)
- 8 *Honest*, Paine
- 9 *Witness*, Regan, Hinton (5)
- 10 *An Inconvenient Woman*, Chase (8)

### NONFICTION

- 1 *Democracy: An Autobiography*, Gentry
- 2 *Darkness Visible*, Myers
- 3 *Courting Disaster*, Becker (1)
- 4 *The Great Depression*, Levine
- 5 *Debating the Poems*, Hunt (3)
- 6 *Refuge*, Sun & Co., Hinton (2)
- 7 *Charm & Women of the Chair*, Nolan
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## Mom could have helped the sale

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Contrary, just as much as individuals, suffer from a guilt complex. The German young, not to mention the German old, still can't come to terms with what happened 50 years ago. The Auschwitz disaster in Vienna has only now been transferred to the stage—but written by Fenchelstein and produced by the English. After *Soyuz* is a vicious anti-American musical, based on the Molotov-British theme, and New York (after seriously panic-stricken in the spring from London, where it's been a wild hit). Significantly, its multimillion-dollar advance sale is the largest in Broadway history.

Canada's theatrical life has been under the depression and it's taken until 1990 for a major drama to be opened on that decade. That will be the inevitable result of what will be the big book of the nation, Pierre Berton, who has spent an enormous amount of time writing the rest of us in the face, simply calls it: *The Great Depression, 1929 to 1938*. Harry Bradstreet has been his and his own. The last time, he Berton's aggressive approach—of test guys and no good guys—will soon be at the top of the best-seller lists, where he usually resides by Christmas time.

In Berton's eyes, in Berton's prose, the two principal bad guys are even worse than this: they are stupid and cowardly, hideous really. Their names are R. B. Bennett and Mackenzie King. The one is arrogant and stupid, blind to reality and almost idiotic in his refusal to admit the facts. The other is obvious, an admirer of Hitler and obsessed with self. Not really, the two guys you would choose to run Canada during a decade of shame.

We must, at this point, get rid of the cards. This here reporter, you must understand, regards himself as one of the world's authorities on the Depression, having been around since birth in the middle of it, in a small Saskatchewan town called Borden, which was approximately twice the size of my present office desk.

The fact that Berton thought of the book before I did of course has nothing to do with my main caveat, but I do think he underplays the tragedy of the Princes in his account



of the book. Those of us from Borden naturally think the entire Depression happened there and why he didn't interview my mother can only puzzle me but will likely cost him, oh, 30,000 more copies at the bookstore.

Our chief popular interest was raised in the Falcus and Victoria during that period and it was, as we all know, a one-man world conglomerate in Toronto. So he really missed, I would contend, a sterling personal experience in the decade of bad luck and shame.

This would account for his getting it wildly wrong in his depiction of the Red Cross organizing a national appeal to aid the 125,000 destitute farm people in southern Saskatchewan. The farm families, he writes, "would long remember the hundreds of tons of clothing collected by the churches that arrived washed, pressed, and packed in 247 freight cars." Berton says, "The response, especially from Ontario, was heartwarming and helped bring

about a rapprochement between East and West."

In fact, in truth, it is the basis for the pervasive anti-Toronto, anti-East feeling that still infests the Princes. It's unfortunately human nature, but charity is never appreciated. It is always resented.

Berton, in his gusto style, insists on a grand theme of government incompetence, cancer, decay, prejudice and repression in that decade between the Roaring Twenties and the Second World War. He reminds us that at the "height" of the Depression, half the wage earners in Canada were in some form of relief. One Canadian in five was a public dependent.

His most shocking statistic reveals that Ottawa from 1930 to 1936 spent more of the taxpayers' money to service the debt of the city than it did to provide unemployment relief. He is underlining in his scorn for our elected

leaders of the day with a clear belief in the Calvinist ethic that if any man was idle it was deliberate. R. B. Bennett, one of the richest men in Canada, who ended his years living as a toff in England, maintained through most of his time as Depression Prime Minister that the government had no responsibility for the unemployment and the starving farmers who in despair shot their families and committed suicide rather than apply for "the pence."

German, while Berton, in his otherwise right too, into Hermann Goebbels and the Spanish Civil War and birth control and Wally Simpson, but they all had some relevance in that missing decade. He's trying to shape and explain Canadian attitudes and is heavy into the anti-season. Red-baiting obsession of the era. Here is George Drew, in 1937,

then No. 2 man in the Ontario Party, saying, "The time has come to end the two-party system in Ontario since only a strong government could destroy communism."

Here is Mackenzie King in the same year, meeting Hitler and recording in his famous diary "... a calm, poised man, deeply and thoughtfully in current... his eyes expressed no amount of it. There is a liquid quality about them which indicates keen perception and profound sympathy."

Berton ends his decade with the war and "indirectly a country that had been unable to provide work for a fifth of its people found work for all." In 1938, 7,500 men had been under Coady Andy MacNaughton; many of them had lived in his Depression relief camps. The government once paid them 20 cents a day and treated them as bums. "Now it was paying 60 cents in cash and treating them as heroes."

The chap does good research.



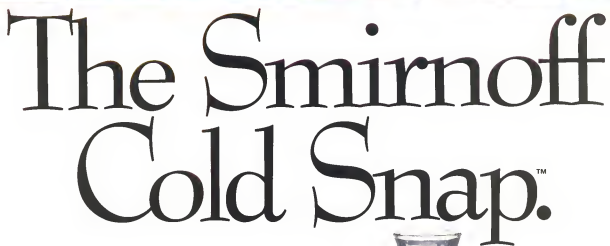
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